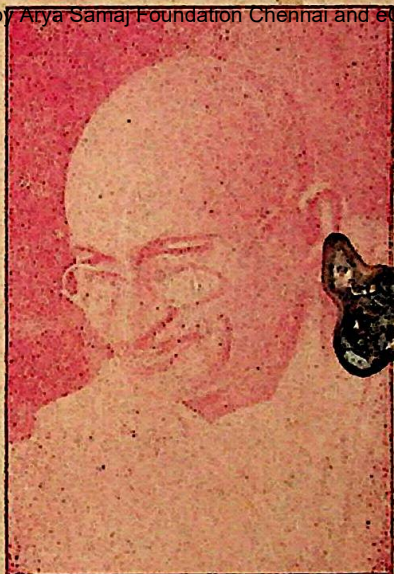


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EXHAUSTIVE AND CRITICAL NOTES
ON

GANDHI.

(Carl Heath)



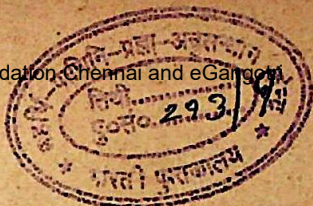
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EXHAUSTIVE AND CRITICAL NOTES ON GANDHI

A BRIEF LIFE SKETCH OF MAHATMA GANDHI

Gandhiji's birth and parentage—Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born at Porbandar in Kathiawar on October 2nd 1869. His father Karamchand held a hereditary Office in the State. He belonged to the Baniya community and followed Jainism with Ahimsa as its basic principle. Gandhiji's mother was a devout woman. She was a religious-minded lady, fasting, praying and giving alms to the poor. In short Gandhiji was born in a middle class Hindu family.

His education and marriage—Like other children of the family, Gandhiji was educated. He was first taught the texts of Vishnaw religion. He attended the primary school at Porbandar and then the public school at Rajkot. He passed his High School examination at the age of seventeen. He was betrothed at the age of eight and married at the age of twelve with Kasturba. She was one year elder than Gandhiji. Gandhiji's earliest ambition was to become a famous barrister. Lawyer's profession then was very much craved by the youths. Therefore Gandhiji went to England at the age of seventeen to study at the Inner Temple in London. During his stay in London Gandhiji met leading theosophists. His intimacy with them created an interest in him for Hinduism and its literature. It was during his stay in London that he realised for the first time the beauty of the Bhagwat Gita. He also turned to the study of Christianity and was much impressed by the Sermon on the Mount. During his stay in London he tried to learn dancing. He returned to India in 1891. It was a sad atmosphere in his

family. Because his mother had died and the news of her death was withheld from him. The orthodox Hindus at that time did not like the idea of going overseas. It was supposed to be a great sin for which certain rites were to be performed as penance. Therefore Gandhiji on his arrival had to submit to many rites to be readmitted to his own caste.

His practice in Bombay—After his return from England, Gandhiji began to practise at the High Court of Bombay as Barrister. But he did not make a good pleader. When he took his first case in the Bombay Court, he broke down miserably and could not proceed further. All the hopes of his brother who expected him to be a good lawyer earning good deal were dashed to the ground. Gandhiji could not earn name as a Pleader in Bombay.

Gandhiji in South Africa—At this time a Muslim business man of India was in need of an Indian Lawyer who would accompany him to South Africa, live there and plead for him. He had a legal dispute with the South African Republic. He invited Gandhiji for the purpose. Therefore in 1893 he went to South Africa. There for the first time in his life he saw the unhuman injustice and brutal harassment which the Indians were enduring there. The law suit for which Gandhiji was invited dragged on for months in Pretaria. As his clients were Muslims he began to feel interest in Islam. And he read the translation of the Quran. At last the suit was settled by arbitration largely through Gandhiji's efforts. Now he was free to return to India. But his political consciousness was awakened there by many of his humiliating experiences. Colour prejudice was very strong there. Laws restricted free entry of Indians and prevented them from taking out licences to trade. The Indians who had settled in South Africa wanted him to stay there and lead them in their struggle against the South African Government. Therefore, Gandhiji decided to stay on there and he took up the problem of the treatment of the Indians by the Boers there. In 1894 he founded the

Natal Indian Congress and started a vigorous campaign to raise the standard of cleanliness, sanitation and education among the Indians of Natal.

In 1896 he returned to India to lay the facts before the Indian Government. During his stay in India he delivered many speeches and wrote a pamphlet on the conditions of the Indians in Natal. When the Europeans in Natal heard about Gandhiji's activities in India, they were enraged. When Gandhiji returned to South Africa, serious riots broke out. He was attacked by an unruly mob and was only rescued with difficulty.

In spite of all this, Gandhiji remained loyal to the British Government. In 1899 a fierce war known as the Boer War broke out in South Africa between the Boers and the British Government. Because both parties claimed control over South Africa. Gandhiji decided to render first aid to the wounded soldiers. So he raised and trained a body of Indian stretcher-bearers. They were attached to General Buller's force. Their services were recognised officially and medals were awarded to them at the time of disbursement. Gandhiji himself was honoured with such medals.

In 1901 the situation seemed so much better that Gandhiji again returned to India. He hoped that when the Boers were conquered in South Africa, the anti-Indian Legislation would be repealed and that Indians would no longer be made to pay the emigration tax and register their finger prints or submit to other restrictions. But this did not happen. Therefore Gandhiji again went to South Africa to champion the cause of the Indians there. On his return there he founded a news-paper called Indian Opinion which is still being run under the editorship of Gandhiji's own son.

It was at this time that he began to read many books which deeply impressed his outlook of life. Among these books were Ruskin's Unto This Last and the books of the Russian reformer Tolstoy. From these studies he was convinced that true happiness can only be enjoyed by a return to simple

mode of life and by giving up worldly ambitions. His religious outlook was formed by his studies of the Gita. He now began to feel that a man's duty is to love his enemies, to do good to those who persecute him and to refrain from taking life. This doctrine known as Ahimsa became a cardinal principle in Gandhiji's life. Gandhiji now established a little colony of Indian and European friends who lived the simple life the principles of which he had laid down. Then Gandhiji started his fight against the anti-Indian policy of the South African Government. There was the "Black Act" which obliged all Asiatic settlers to register their names with finger prints. Another act was passed to prohibit Asiatics from entering Transwal and even more insulting blow was a judgement of the Supreme Court ruling that only Christian marriages, registered by the Registrar, were legally valid in South Africa. When the Government of South Africa refused to repeal these acts and give Indians the rights, to which they felt they were entitled, Gandhiji started a campaign of passive resistance.

Gandhiji and other Indian leaders were arrested and thrown into prison. But the agitation, created among the Indians in South Africa, was so strong that the South African Government was compelled to agree to a compromise. Still, the Government seemed unwilling to grant all that it had promise—despecially the repeal of an annual tax of £ 3 to be paid by all ex-indentured Indian settlers. In 1913, therefore, Gandhiji led a great march of Natal Indian Indentured labourers who were ready to go to prison rather than submit to such humiliating law. The struggle ended in 1914, when the "Black Act" was repealed together with the annual tax and the Indian marriages were legalised. Thus the Legal status of Indians in South Africa was at last fully safe guarded.

Gandhiji's return to India:—After successfully completing his work for Indians in South Africa, Gandhiji returned to India in 1914. Here he was accorded a triumphant

reception during a prolonged tour which he undertook shortly after his return. He then turned his attention to the foundation of an Ashram or hermitage near Ahmadabad where he and his followers could practice the kind of life he had planned for himself, unhampered by caste or creed. During this period, Gandhiji still kept up the light to stop the practice of sending the indentured Indian labourers to work in foreign countries. He also interfered successfully in Bihar, where the European indigo planters were treating their cultivators very badly.

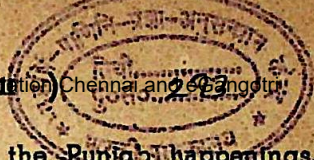
But Gandhiji's most successful work was his intervention on behalf of the mill-hands in Ahmadabad. At the instance of Gandhiji they went on strike for better treatment and when this failed, he undertook to fast to death if need be until their grievances were redressed. This was the first time that Gandhiji used in a dispute his famous weapon of Satyagraha. It was singularly successful. It was at this time that the title of Mahatma or Great Soul began to be applied to Gandhiji as the champion of the poor and oppressed.

In 1914 the first world war broke out and just as Gandhiji supported the British against the Boers in South Africa, at this time he also volunteered his services for what he thought to be the right cause. He worked hard to recruit a labour corps in Gujrat for the British Government and was awarded later on the Kaisar-i-Hind Medal for his services. The continued strain of his hard labour for long now had its effect and his health broke down. The Doctors urged him to take milk, but he had for some time observed a vow not to take milk. But Mrs. Gandhiji prevailed upon him to pay attention to the doctor's advice by reminding him that his vow was against cow's milk and not goats. Hence forward goat's milk was to be an important item in his diet.

Events in the Punjab - After the first world war India was in a very disturbed condition. There were failure of monsoon, keen economic depression, riots in Bengal, poli-

tical agitation for India's independence, the Khilafat movement etc. All this was followed by the passing of the Rowlatt Act. It aimed to suppress the true political agitation in India. Gandhiji, then, declared that other form of constitutional agitation having failed, people now should resort to satyagraha. Therefore a satyagraha day was fixed when complete hartal was to be observed, prayers were to be offered and the vow was to be taken amidst demonstration. Gandhiji's programme was followed by the people. Though he insisted on non-violent demonstrations, demonstrations at several places were marred by scenes of violence and rowdysm. Serious riots had broken out in the country, specially in the Punjab martial law was declared and General Dyer who was in charge opened fire on a meeting which was being held in an enclosed space known as the Jalianwala Bagh. It killed and wounded a large number of persons. The Jalianwala Bagh-Shooting sent a wave of indignation throughout India. An official committee known as the Hunter Committee was appointed by the Government and another committee, appointed by the Congress under the chairmanship of Mahatma Gandhiji, held a separate enquiry. The findings of the Hunter Commission failed to satisfy public opinion, while the action taken thereon and the debates that took place in Parliament turned out to be even more disappointing, Gandhiji then felt the necessity of the struggle against the British Government.

(-Gandhiji's non-co-operation movement—Gandhiji's identified himself with the Khilafat movement started by the Muslim brothers. This action of Gandhiji resulted in a Hindu-Muslim unity. A special session of the Congress was held at Calcutta under the presidentship of Lala Lajpatrai to consider the question of non-cooperation. Gandhiji carried the day by a clear majority. The resolution moved by Gandhiji and passed by the Congress, declared that Government had signally failed in their duty towards the Muslims and as they had failed to punish the



officers in connection with the Punjab happenings, the Congress earnestly advised the surrender of all British titles and withdrawal of children from Government schools and colleges, the boycott of law courts and legislative councils and the adoption of Swadeshi articles. Gandhiji himself set an example by returning to the Viceroy Kaisar-i-Hind medal.

Gandhiji, supported by the Congress Party, at first decided to start a civil disobedience movement as a protest against the behaviour of General Dyer. But events pointed out that the masses of the people were not yet ready for non violence. In 1921 when the Prince of Wales landed in Bombay on a visit to India, there were riots in which many people lost their lives. In the following year at Chauri-Chaura in the Gorakhpur district of the U. P. a body of non-cooperators attacked twenty police constables and burnt them to death. Gandhiji publicly repented for such violence. As a result of his non-co-operation movement he was arrested and sentenced to six year's imprisonment. He was sent to Yervada Jail, near Poona. After two years he developed acute appendicitis. He was then successfully operated upon by the English civil surgeon of Poona and the unexpired portion of his sentence was commuted.

After his release from Jail, Gandhiji worked steadily to prepare the nation for non-violent civil disobedience. While one section of the Congress had taken to Parliamentary activities, the orthodox followers of Gandhiji under his leadership took to popularising Khaddar, stopping of the manufacture of intoxicating liquors, improving the village condition and removing untouchability.

In 1926 Lord Irwin became the Viceroy of India. Soon there arose a deep mutual respect and regard between him and Gandhiji. But Gandhiji continued his struggle for the independence of India. He then thought that the salt tax weighed very heavily on the poorest classes. As a symbolic protest against this tax, he started a march to the seashore

at Dandi in Gujrat to defy the Government by making salt out of sea-water. This movement assumed such dimensions that Government found it necessary to arrest Gandhiji. He was therefore once more lodged in Yerwada Jail. The movement continued and the jails were full with thousands of political prisoners. This was followed by the arrival of Sir John Simon Commission in India for constitutional purposes. It could not satisfy the various interests of the country and secondly it had no Indian members. Therefore it was boycotted throughout India.

The Round Table Conferences—In November 1930, a Round Table Conference consisting of Indian and English members was called in London to discuss the question of granting self-government to India. But the Congress was not represented in the conference as the Civil Disobedience movement was then at its height and most of the leaders were in Jail.

Lord Irwin was determined to remedy this state of affairs. He was eager that Gandhiji should attend the next session of the conference as the Congress representative. Therefore in 1931 he released the members of the working Committee of the Congress who were in prison. In February Gandhiji went to Delhi to see Lord Irwin and after prolonged discussions an agreement was signed. It was agreed that the British Government was to withdraw its repressive measures and the Congress was to call off Civil Disobedience movement. Gandhiji was to attend the second session of the Conference and accordingly he sailed to London in October. When he attended the Conference it seemed to him that the Conference was not representing India fully. Gandhiji himself was not quite at home in the atmosphere of the Round Table Conference. His participation in the Conference work was not fruitful. But he did valuable work outside the conference by making the various classes of people in England acquainted with Indian aspirations and demands. On his return to India in 1932 he heard allegations and

counter-allegations of breach of the truce and found many of his close associates in Jail. He found the country in desperate conditions. Soon Gandhiji asked for an interview with the Viceroy but it was refused. Then the Congress threatened to renew Civil Disobedience Movement unless the Government repealed the ordinances. The British Government thereupon arrested Gandhiji and other leaders and took stern measures to suppress the threatened outbreak of civil disobedience movement.

Poona pact—In August 1932 the British Minister, Prime Mr. Romsay Mac Donald announced the communal award for India. According to it the various communities in India would have separate representation in the Legislative Councils. Gandhiji thought that this would divide the whole country in different small groups. Therefore he announced that he would fast unto death unless the method of representation provided for the depressed classes was altered. Gandhiji's memorable fast began on the 20th September in the Yervada Jail and caused wide spread concern. It was felt that the Mahatma was no longer a young man and the results of the fast might be fatal. Anxious crowd awaited day and night outside the door of the prison. Great was the relief when it was announced that a compromise known as the Poona pact was arrived at and Mahatma broke his fast on the 26th September 1932. In the following year he undertook two more fasts to melt the hearts of the high caste Hindus who were still opposed to giving the untouchables their due rights. Gandhiji was never greatly interested in purely political questions and he was busy at the time in a vigorous campaign for the removal of the untouchability.

The Congress Ministries—In 1935 the Government of India Bill was passed by the British Parliament and it became law. When the first elections were held in 1937, in eight out of the eleven provinces, Congress representatives swept the board. From 1937 till the out-break of the second world war, Congress Ministers were in power.

They formed the Congress Ministries in the Provinces. Gandhiji at this time retired from active participation in politics and he began to live at the village of Sevagram near Wardha in the Central Provinces. There his advice was eagerly sought on all kinds of political, social and religious questions.

Early in 1939 Mahatma Gandhi undertook another fast unto death because the ruler of Rajkot was not prepared to abide by his agreement he has reached with Sardar Patel. The fast was abandoned as the result of the intervention by the Viceroy and the matter in dispute was referred to Chief Justice of the Federal Court. He gave his judgment in favour of the contention of Gandhiji; But the advantage of the award was subsequently denounced by Gandhiji as having been obtained by the coercion of the ruler and being thus tainted with 'hinsa'.

The second world war—The outbreak of the second world war soon found Gandhiji once more occupying the dominant position on the political stage. The Congress Ministries resigned because the British Government failed to state clearly their aims for waging the war. Attempts were made to reach at a new understanding between the Government and the Congress, but they failed. Gandhiji then launched individual satyagraha denouncing war efforts. This movement continued through out the year 1941. Individuals were allowed to court imprisonments. Thousands of the Congressmen entered the jails. Towards the close of 1941 the Government decided to release satyagrahi prisoners and little later the movement was suspended and Gandhiji once more retired from the leadership of the Congress.

The outbreak of hostilities between Britain and Japan created a strong feeling on both sides for an understanding between the authorities and the Indian political parties. Japan invaded and conquered Malaya, Indonasia, Singapore, Burma and attacked the Eastern frontiers of India. This

necessitated an enthusiastic co-operation of all sections of the people in any measure that might be called for to place the defence of India on an adequate nation-wide basis. The British coalition Government sent out Sir Strafford Cripps with their solution of the Indian problem. But this was found unacceptable by all the parties in India including the Congress. The failure of Cripps left an unhappy impression on the Congress, especially Gandhiji. His feeling when the war broke out was not what he felt now. Then he gave his unconditional sympathy to the allied cause. This sympathy by degrees turned into neutral attitude. Cripps' proposals did not indicate any definite change of hearts on the part of Great Britain.

The Quit-India Resolution of the Congress—Gandhiji at last put forward the famous "Quit-India" demand and discussed its necessity and implications in all columns of the Harijan. The All India Congress Committee was called to consider the decision of the Working Committee. At this historic meeting the Congress passed the famous "Quit India" Resolution on August 8, 1942. Gandhiji there declared that before embarking on any struggle he would seek an interview with the Viceroy and convince him of the reasonableness of the Congress demand or in turn he would get convinced by him to the contrary. But the British Government gave Gandhiji no opportunity. In the early hours of the morning of August 9, Gandhiji was arrested along with the Working Committee Members and hundreds of Congressmen at Bombay and at other places.

Upheaval of August 1942.—If the offensive which the Government launched took the people of India by surprise, the answer which the people gave surprised the Government equally and unnerved it for some time. The Government offensive was launched not only to prevent the people from reacting in an unpleasant manner to the arrest of Gandhiji and the Congress leaders but also once for all crush the Congress. The Government declared it illegal. The people

however rose to the occasion and gave unmistakable evidence of their unflinching determination to end the foreign rule in India. The bravery and heroism shown, the skill and ingenuity with which the few among the Congress men, escaped arrest are well-known to us. Those who went underground carried on the work of the Congress among growing difficulties and their praise worthy work and sacrifice and Government's violent onslaught on them are the facts of common knowledge. The Government tried to crush down the national struggle by wide-spread arrests, rigorous press control, and continuous ordinances and a veritable reign of terror ensued. In a few days all jails in India were full and so camp jails had to be set up to meet the over-flow.

In the beginning of 1943, Gandhiji undertook a fast of 21 days. It created a great stir through out the country and the Government was urged from all sides to release Gandhiji. But the Government remained unmoved. Gandhiji's life appeared in danger, but he pulled through the ordeal successfully. The Government stuck to its attitude that a withdrawal of the August Resolution by the Congress leaders was a condition precedent to its considering the question of their release.

During his imprisonment Gandhiji suffered two sad bereavements. The first to die was Mahadev Desai, his trusted and devoted private secretary whom he had began to love like a son. The next was in February 1944 Kasturba his beloved wife whose one constant endeavour was to share the sufferings of her great husband. Undoubtedly severe must have been the shock to Gandhiji though outwardly he bore his sorrows with great serenity and calmness.

Gandhi Jinnah Talk.—Mahatma Gandhi was however released unconditionally on medical grounds from detention on May 6, 1944. He went to Bombay where the historic Gandhi-Jinnah meetings took place in the last week of September 1944. The talks which prolonged for a few days

failed as Gandhiji would never believe in the two nation theory of Mr. Jinnah.

Simla Conference.—The deadlock over the Indian situation continued for about a year and there was no move for solving it. In the summer of 1945 Lord Wavell went to England for consultations with Whitehall and on June 14th, 1945 a White Paper was published stating British Government's desire to settle the political deadlock in India. The members of the Congress Working Committee were forthwith released and Lord Wavell broadcasting on June 14th announced a political conference at Simla in the last week of the same month. Twenty one top ranking leaders including Mahatma Gandhi were invited to the Conference. The drama of the Simla Conference continued for nearly three weeks in which Gandhiji was the cynosure of all the eyes, but it failed due to Mr. Jinnah's adamant attitude towards the constitution of the Viceroy's Council.

The Congress Ministries in the Provinces:—Then the elections were held in the Provinces. Many leaders including some from the Congress advocated a policy of boycott. But it was mainly through the influence of Mahatma Gandhi that the Congress decided to contest the election in 1946. The Congress swept the polls and the Congress Ministries were formed in nine out of eleven Provinces. As a result of this the power and prestige of the Congress and its leader Mahatma Gandhi was firmly established. In April 1946 the British Government sent a Cabinet-Mission to India for negotiating political settlement with India. This was done by the Labour Government which came in power in 1945 in England. The Labour Government was sincere in its designs to give independence to India as it was revealed by the Cabinet Mission. Mahatma Gandhi was invited by the Cabinet-Mission to advice them and after a month's negotiations the famous May 16th plan was produced. As a result of this the Interim Government was formed after a few months.

Nackhali Peace Mission - The Muslim League continued its agitation for dividing India and creating Pakistan. The Muslim League Ministry of Bengal fixed August 16th 1946 as the Direct Action Day. This plunged the whole city of Calcutta in chaos; loot, plunder, murder, rap etc. were carried on large scale there. After a few months began the holocaust in the district of Nockhali, East Bengal. The events of Calcutta were repeated there on even larger scale. This shocked the whole world. Gandhiji became restless and at once rushed to Nockhali to defend the minorities of the Hindus whose safety neither the Government nor God could guarantee. He lived there for many months and travelled bare-footed from village to village through marshy lands and burnt hamlets. There he carried his message of non-violence and peace.

All this had its desired effects. East Bengal was calmed. But riots flared up in Bihar and Gandhiji threatened to go on a fast unto death if Bihar did not stop rioting. The threat worked like a charm and Bihar became peaceful again. He then came to Bihar in the spring of 1947 and organised rehabilitation of riot sufferers.

Gandhiji was unable to prolong his stay in Bihar as a crisis was developing in Delhi about the Interim Government and the implementation of the Cabinet-Mission-Plan. Lord Mountbatten the then Governor-General of India, invited Gandhiji to Delhi and Gandhi-Mountbatten political talk continued for long time which ultimately resulted in June 3, Plan. But Gandhiji could not stay for long in Delhi also as sporadic riots broke out again in Calcutta. He therefore hurriedly went there.

The Calcutta Miracle - When India became free on the 15th August 1947 Gandhiji was not in Delhi to participate on the auspicious power-transfer celebrations, but in Calcutta working for peace. His presence there brought peace but disturbances took place from time to time. This made Gandhiji undertake a fast from the 1st of September,

1947. It ultimately resulted in what is known as the Calcutta Miracle. The fast was broken on September 4, when the people of Calcutta assured him of perfect peace.

The Fast and his Murder—Though Gandhiji restored peace in Calcutta but troubles broke out in Delhi and so he again hurriedly went to Delhi on September 8, 1947. His arrival in the capital brought peace and confidence and the trouble subsided. Day in and day out Gandhiji preached non-violence and peace. But sporadic disturbances continued again early in January 1948 and Gandhiji was again forced to go on fast on January 13 for an indefinite period. This was Gandhiji's fifteenth and the last fast. The whole nation was moved and in a few days a change in the heart of the people was brought about. Appeals from all over India came to Gandhiji urging him to break his fast. They repeatedly assured him that there would be no more Hindu-Muslim trouble. This appeal of the nation touched the heart of Gandhiji and he broke his fast on January 18. He began to recover rapidly. In the meanwhile some people urged him to go to Pakistan as thousands of the non-Muslims were being massacred and looted there. Gandhiji, therefore, was intending to visit Pakistan shortly as a messenger of peace. But the fate prevented him. On January 30th, 1948 at 5 p. m. while he was going to his prayers Nathuram Godse shot at him and murdered him. The Father of Nation was suddenly taken away from amongst us by the hand of the assassin. This plunged the whole nation into sorrow. On the very evening Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, broadcast "The light that has illumined this country for these many years will illumine this country for many more years and a thousand years later that light will still be seen in this country and the world will see it and it will give solace to innumerable hearts. For that light represented something more than the immediate present."



EXHAUSTIVE NOTES ON GANDHI

Chapter 1

Creative Vision

Summary.

Carl Heath's reason for writing on Gandhiji - Carl Heath wrote about the character and virtues of a world-known leader of men, Gandhi, because during the second world war his judgment or misjudgment of India's political realities led to a widespread misrepresentation and defamation of the noble and prophetic personality of Gandhiji.

M. K. Gandhi belonged to the great among men. Great persons like him act through others. The impact of their personality on others create energy. Their very presence in the world changes the world so that it can never be quite the same again. Gandhiji was a man of this kind. By the simplicity of his courage he restored to masses of Indians their self-respect and a belief in their own humanity. In doing so he changed the course of history and decided the future of human race.

The facts of war or misjudgment of a political situation in India, arising out of the struggle for freedom, might lead Englishmen to misjudge the spirit of Gandhiji. To prevent this Carl Heath wrote about Gandhiji.

He thinks that Gandhiji had given to the East a new sense of freedom and to the many in the West light on the dark present road of suffering and violence. Because the West is still passing through the era of "barbarization of Europe". The West with its Christian civilization and culture could not stone Gandhi or ignore him. Those who do not agree with Gandhiji should seek to understand him and his message. Because the present age needs inspiration that comes when courage, initiative and devotion are joined with the vision of the prophetic soul.

Meanings and Explanations

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Terrors—fears, horrors. **Devastations**—destructions. **Widespread misrepresentation and defamation**—Mahatma Gandhi's attitude towards Japan during the second world war was grossly misrepresented by the British Government as favouring the Japanese. **Prophetic**—having the qualities of a prophet. **Prof John Macmurry**—Professor in the University College London. **Men of actions**—soldiers. **Impact**—influence, collision. **Is itself a creative energy**—results in useful practical activity.

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Transforms—changes. **Sublime**—exalted, so impressive as to inspire wonder. **Humanity**—human qualities. **Misapprehension**—get mistaken idea of. **Liberation**—refers to the struggle for freedom in India. **My own countrymen**—refers to the British people. **Redemptive sense**—a feeling that they can free themselves from a life of misery and wretchedness. **Era**—age. **Berdyaev**—a famous Russian writer whose writings have profoundly influenced large sections of Europeans.

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Barbarization—making savage and cruel. **To stone**—to throw stone on. **This prophet**—refers to Mahatma Gandhi. **Behoves**—be incumbent on. **To seek**—to find. **Linking**—joining. **Inspiration**—divine influence, courage. **Initiative**—first step or lead. **Vision**—faculty of seeing future things. **Prophetic soul**—refers to Mahatma Gandhi who could tell about future events before hand.

Chapter II.

A Man of Life.

Summary.

Importance of the prophetic and symbolic men of life—The prophetic and symbolic men have kept the world away from ultimate tragedy and disappointment. Their function

is to see in vision the coming new day. Many of them have their spiritual qualities asleep. Average men without vision always take the existing and current methods of life as a closed system. These prophets, who claim that more light and more truth are coming forth, know that the static must give way to the new dynamite. Because they themselves are spiritually dynamite and are the most real of realists. This is the secret of their solving and saving of human society. They bring new life freshly combining the various parts into a whole. They are like disturbing forces. Because they turn the conservative world upside down and shake all established customs. They make mistakes like all men even in putting their vision into practice. The world ignores them and hates them when it is in danger. Because these prophets are the sons of light and though light has scorching dangers, it is essential for existence. So these prophets are needed for the world.

According to Carl Heath the disinterested man of his childhood was Giuseppe Mazzini. In his burning personality he had the spiritual force of nineteenth century rebellious Europe and his own young Italy. By his spiritual force he raised the Italian movement for freedom into a religion. This spiritual force was also found in Gandhiji like Mazzini. Gandhiji had power over the springs of human action which materialism may hate or explain but can never copy.

Birth of Gandhiji and his importance; a man of life.
When Carl Heath wrote the book on Gandhiji, Gandhiji was 75 years old. So he says that seventy five years ago a child was born in India. This child expressed in his life India's inherent ahimsa or gentleness and its love of truth. Circumstances brought him into the political arena and he became a national leader bringing about the freedom for his nation. He would not be judged by his acts in the political field, but as a spiritual incarnation, a symbolic man and a prophetic soul. His satyagraha would mean more to

India than all he could achieve in the struggle with the British power.

To support his own opinion about Gandhiji Carl Heath quotes Rabindranath Tagore's views about Gandhiji. Tagore remarked that when Gandhiji started the struggle for India's freedom he had no medium of power in his hand and no authority to suppress and coerce. But the influence of his personality upon others was great, because of its revelation of a spontaneous self-giving. This is why the Indians did not lay emphasis upon his natural cleverness in manipulating the opposing facts. They have explained the truth which shines through his character in clear simplicity.

Carl Heath then quotes Salvador-de-Madariaga, the Spanish Statesman. He says that the living sense of things can only be conveyed by life. A life instilled with unity is to carry the living sense of unity to others. Such a life was Gandhiji's. This is the reason why he is perhaps the most symbolic man of our day. In fact he is a man of life.

People may judge and disapprove many of his actions. But how much they have understood him or feeling spiritually sit at his feet and learn the truth of his life shown in the heart of self-giving Gandhiji.

Meaning and explanations

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Chang-Kai-Shek—He is the leader of the Nationalists in China. He has been fighting, with the American help, the Communist forces in China and has been now losing ground. He was very much admired and supported by the Allies during the Second World War. **Immense**—great. **Field Marshal Smuts**—He is a South African statesman and soldier. He became Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa in 1919 and again in 1939. **Tragedy**—sad event leading to death or disaster in the end. **Dispair**—disappointment. **Prophetic**—like prophets telling before hand the future events. **Symbolic men**—men who have symbolized in

their lives the highest qualities of human nature.
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Creative Functions—Actions that makes new things. **Vision**—dream. **Spiritual sleep**—their spiritual qualities lie inactive. **Perceive**—see. **Naught**—nothing. All through the long history the darkness—Throughout the long history of humanity, the world has been ultimately saved from ruin and disappointment by prophets. They have expressed in their lives the highest qualities of human nature. Their great function is to see before hand the events of the future, though their spiritual qualities do not work fully. They thus claim to create a new life and guide the world, while other people see nothing in future except darkness. **Existent**—living. **Proclaim**—declare. **Static**—that which is not moving **Give way**—yield, surrender. **Dynamic**—that which works actively. **Dynamite**—highly explosive. **Possessed**—having. **The Hebrew prophet**—'saish. **Idealism**—representation of things in ideal form. **Imaginative things** which consists of ideals. These prophets realists. Those who save the world from tragedy are prophetic and symbolic men. They announce that a great power like God is working and more light and truth are to be seen soon. Therefore they know that the old static things must be changed. They should make room for the new active forces. These prophets think so because they themselves are explosive spiritually like dynamite. Their inspiration and actions might, like dynamite, explode the old systems in the world and introduce the new ones. As the Hebrew prophet Isaish remarked they have burning fire shut up in their bones. In other words, they have intense emotion and glowing inspiration to illuminate the world. They have their own ideals to follow. True ideals in practical life are real ones. These ideals can be achieved and put into practice. Therefore these prophets with all their ideals are the most real idealists.

Salving—healing. **Scribes**—authors or writers. **Inta**.

grated—combining the various parts into one whole. **Conservative**—those who are opposed to change and stick to the old established things. **Fallible**—liable to make mistakes. **Estimating**—approximate judgement.

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Waywardness—Childish, selfwilled attitude, capriciousness. **Peril**—danger. **Scorching**—heat bringing injury or pain. **Vital**—essential for life. For these areexistence—The prophetic and symbolic persons turn the old world upside down and shake all established customs. They save the world from the ultimate tragedy. But the world ignores them and hates them when it is in danger. Yet they are essential to the very existence of world as light is essential for life. Though intense light does injure and causes pain it is vital for organic life. Similarly these prophets, who bring forth new light and truth are like great light which is needed for the existence of the world.

Giuseppe Mazzini—He was a great Italian patriot (1805-1872). His inspiration and actions paved the path for the liberation of Italy. **Embodied** comprised, included **Ascetic**—severely abstinent, severe in self-discipline. **Insurgent**—rebellious, revolutionary. **He embodied.....lived and died**—Mazzini was a great ascetic. He was severely self-disciplined and restrained from indulging in comfortable life. With these ascetic qualities he had combined rebellious spirit of the 19th century Europe and above all his own country Italy. During the nineteenth century many small countries of Europe were revolting against these autocratic rulers. Italy was then under the despotic and undemocratic rule of Austria. Italy therefore was revolting against the Austrians. Mazzini started a movement for the freedom of Italy. He was exiled by the Austrian Government. Still he worked so hard that he raised the movement for Italian independence into a religion. This inspired many Italians who sacrificed themselves for achieving the independence of Italy. Thus Mazzini created a spiritual force which enabled thousands of Italians

to live and die for Italy's sake. **Materialism**—believe that nothing exists but matter and its manifestations, the faith in exclusive material prosperity. **Despite**—hate. **Imitate**—copy out. **Inherent**—existing in the very nature of.

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Arena—field, ground, **Seeking**—searching. **Spiritual incarnation**—embodiment of spiritual qualities. **Satyagraha**—Gandhiji's movement of passive resistance, started against British rule, **Accomplish**—achieve, obtain. **Wrestling**—quarreling, struggling. **Imperial Government**—refers to British power in India. **Obvious**—clear. **Coercion**—forcible compulsion. **Emanated**—issued **Ineffable**—too great to be described in words. The influence and joy derived from music and beauty cannot be described. Similarly the influence and inspiration that issued from Mahatma Gandhi is too great to be explained in words, **Revelation**—disclosure, that which is shown. **Spontaneous**—instinctive, voluntarily, **Self-giving**—giving out things voluntarily according to his own inner wishes. **Our people**—refers to the Indians. **Manipulating**—dealing skilfully. **Recalcitrant**—showing repugnance or opposition, **Dwelt upon**—discussed in detail. **Lucid**—clear. This is the reason ... **lucid simplicity**—Mahatma Gandhi had great influence over people, because he voluntarily offered his services. This is the reason why Indians have not emphasised upon Gandhiji's cleverness in dealing with opposition. Gandhiji could deal successfully with the repugnant and revolutionary forces. But Indians have not led much emphasis on it. On the contrary they have explained the truth which shines through his simplicity of character. **Salvador de Madariya**—a Spanish statesman and writer who is living in exile in London. **Conveyed**—carried. **Instilled**—filled with, **Man of action**—soldier. **Man of thought**—a writer or a philosopher. **Revealed**—shown.

General Questions and Answers

Q 1 What is the importance of the prophetic and sym.

holic men according to Carl Heath ? Explain how Gandhiji is a symbolic man of life.

Ans.—According to Carl Heath the world has been saved ultimately by prophetic and symbolic men. They could do so by seeing in vision the future events. The average man takes the existing methods of life as a closed system. But these prophets tell that the static must give way to the new dynamic. They themselves are spiritual dynamite. As true idealism touch the real, they are always the most real of realists. Therein lies the secret of healing and saving of human society. They bring new life freshly integrated. They turn the conservative world upside down and shake all established customs. Like all men they also make mistakes, when they translate their vision into action. The world ignores them and hates them when it is in danger. But they are the sons of light and are needed by the world like light which is essential for its very existence.

Mahatma Gandhi was a prophetic and symbolic man. He had spiritual force in him, Though he entered the political field, he was not judged by his acts in that field. But he was a spiritual incarnation, a symbolic man, a prophetic soul. His satyagraha meant more to India than all he could achieve in his struggle with the British power. When he began to struggle for freedom in India he had no overwhelming authority or power to force other. But his influence was ineffable like music and beauty. Because truth was shining through his character in clear simplicity. He revealed the powers of spontaneous self-giving. His life was filled with unity. And this carried the sense of unity to others. This is why Gandhiji is the most symbolic man of our times. He is not so much a man of actions or a man of thought, as a man of life.

III

India's Freedom

Summary

The figure of Gandhiji persists — "The figure of Gandhiji persists," wrote Audox in 1942 and it persists because Gandhiji according to Carl Heath, had taken to heart Mazzini's advice "make your life the embodiment of one great organic idea." He gripped this advice so firmly that free India and himself had become one idea. As he opened the path of freedom for India, he was first and foremost, free India and then prophet, politician and social reformer. The path of freedom belongs to a spiritual wholeness. This is neither free action nor freedom of thought but it is life and Gandhiji was a man of life. The great Christian saint named Paul expressed the same idea in a phrase "the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free." This Hebrew Saint, Paul, whose spiritual sense made him request his friends that they stand fast in the freedom secured by Christ for them, was also the man whose political sense led him to remind the Romans that he was born free. The Romans had occupied his mother-country Palastine. Life is not a series of categories, religious, political, philosophical or social. Life is a forceful or whole and at the end there are not four freedoms but one.

Gandhiji never allowed Indians to imagine that India would get her freedom by breaking the political link with Britain. It was a great credit to him. Swaraj or self-government meant for him much more than political freedom or condition. As he was the prophet of ideals and light he made the application of his ideas real in all life at all times. Therefore his actions and their demands had the quality of uncompromising. He did not even spare himself and his own life. The modern political world finds destruction everywhere. Because it does not believe in any absolute and integrated life. It feels that the Gandhian method is either

fanatism or absolute political high bargaining. When the Gandhian method was used with simple trust, the British politicians could not understand it. They suspected in it madness or deep treachery. Ramsay Macdonald wrote to Carl Heath in 1933, when he was Prime Minister of England that in his opinion Gandhi was far more of a politician than anything else. But this was a superficial judgment from a person who failed to see that the spirit of Gandhiji was never confined to political issues only. No national politician had roused response in the whole world as Gandhiji has done. Many British statesmen have tried many times to simplify the issue by seeing Gandhiji as chiefly a political opponent. They tried to treat him in the political field as a "spent force". Many times he was imprisoned, the Congress declared as illegal, his friends dispersed and arrested his books were prohibited yet "the figure of Gandhiji persists". Once Mr. Shrinivas Shastri a moderate elderly statesman remarked "Sooner or later you will have to come back to Mr. Gandhi". Past events for many years proved the truth of this statement.

Why people again and again went and consulted Gandhiji? Sooner or later people went back to Gandhiji. Because he was a man of the spirit. The claim of this free child of God could not be put aside permanently. The dynamite of his soul had strong influence over the minds and hearts of other men. His soul had deep attachment with others. Suffering and suppression only deepened that attachment and strength. His soul had the determining power. Often public men and statesmen forget that determining power of the spirit in their planning.

The determining spiritual power in Gandhiji. Gandhiji had that determining power of the spirit. It was increased by his dedication of soul to "one great organic idea". Persons like Gandhiji never by-pass Life itself. They face and shape it. That is their special function. As a result of this, suffering, repression and hatred may come;

but spiritual power only grows thereby.—Gandhiji not only "opened up the path of freedom for India" but he walked straight on this path giving services voluntarily and completely. He did not think about its results.

Such a man in public and personal affairs could be met and won but could never be forced. He could be won by freedom. By freedom is not meant that he might be left free. What is meant by freedom is an acceptance of freedom as a basic principle for working with cooperation. The imperialist British persons are tempted to keep some thing for themselves in reservations. They think that they belong to a superior race and have more experience in politics. Therefore they have right to rule. They do not know how to meet with rebels as free souls and equals. The Government of India Act 1935 is an example of the feelings of such imperialists. It is an example of well-intentioned British men welcoming the idea of establishing United States of India and yet making it a British Act passing it through the British Parliament. They still felt that something was wrong in the ungrateful attitude of India. Undoubtedly the Cripps Proposals of 1942 were greatly an improvement upon that Act, but immediate freedom for India was still with-held. In the meanwhile the figure of Gandhiji persisted, that patient prophetic figure that could not be denied. In spite of the last world war that figure continued to ask for freedom.

Meanings and Explanations

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Deed—action. **Freedom** is the soul of deed—an action can be performed most efficiently when one is free to do. **Persists**—continues to exist; continues to do something in spite of the obstacles and remonstrance in doing. **Observer**—a British independent weekly paper. **Taken to heart**—has learnt effectively. **Stern**—hard. **Counsel**—advice. **Embodiment**—form.

Organic - vital, important. **Make your life the embodiment of one great organic idea**—Let one great important idea be made concrete in your life's actions. Let your words and actions throughout your life be an expression of some vital idea. Your life should comprise an important ideal. **Gripped**—held or caught firmly. **Multitudes**—many. **His countrymen**—refer to the Indians. N B. Gandhiji has identified himself with Indian freedom. His very life was meant for securing freedom for India. **Spiritual wholeness**—the completeness of the spirit, organic unification of the spirit. **The path of freedom belongs to spiritual wholeness**—freedom is well secured when the spirit sacrifices itself completely with all its unity. The spirit at the same time should be free to act and speak. **Reveals**—shows.

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Christain Apostle—refers to St. Paul. **Expressed**—described in words. **Concept**—idea. **Pregnant**—having great meaning; full of meaning. **That has spiritual sense**—feelings about the spirit. **This Hebrew**—refers to St. Paul who was Jew. **Urge**—request. **An occupying and an alien power**—it refers to the Romans who had occupied Palastine—the native land of St. Paul. They ruled there as foreign power. **Prized**—valued; St. Paul believed that Christ had made him free spiritually and he told his rulers—the Romans—that he was born free. Politically he was free. The political freedom was a very valuable fact. **The Pauline sense**—in the sense in which St. Paul used the expression namely, that he was free being a Roman. **Integration**—seeing life as a whole and not in parts. **Discreet**—dictated by skill. The word discreate is more suitable than discreet. Discreate means separate. **Categories**—classes, divisions. **Four freedoms**—they are—freedom of speech and expression, freedom of worship, freedom from want and freedom from fear. **Gandhiji was not born free ...but one**—The great Christian apostle St. Paul remarked that like the Romans he was born free. He had

enjoyed political freedom since his birth. But Gandhiji was not born free in that sense. Because at the time of his birth India was groaning under the foreign yoke. In spite of this he claimed to see life not in separate parts but as one whole. To him life was not a series of separate divisions—religious, political, philosophical and social. But life was a complete whole unit. There are not four freedoms—namely freedom of speech, freedom to worship, freedom from want and freedom from fear,—but only one. **Eternal—everlasting. Severance—breaking. Political link—political relations with Great Britain. Subordination—subjugation.**

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Application—putting his ideas in life. Action demands—calls or requests for action. Uncompromising—the quality of not compromising and adjusting. A prophet of his own life—Gandhiji was a prophet having certain ideas to achieve. He had shining light too. He applied his ideas to the realities in life at all times. He put his ideals to the realities of life. This is the reason why the call for action by him was uncompromising. His urge for action was very stren, it would not leave himself and his own life. Current—modern. Devastating—destroying. Absolutes—perfect and pure things. Fanaticism—mistaken enthusiasm. Astute—shrewd, crafty. That is what the current ... high bargaining—The modern politicians find destruction and confusion. Because they do not believe in perfect and pure things and one unified life. They think that the methods of Gandhiji are based on mistaken enthusiasm; or they are shrewd bargaining in political matters. Theologian—a learned person who has the knowledge of God, His nature and attributes and His relation to man and the universe. The redemptive power of innocent suffering—through suffering rescue and deliver others from the sins as was done by Christ. Profound-deep. Duplicity—deceitfulness treachery. N. B. In 1943 in Birmingham Cathedral prayers were offered by some Christians to

reduce the sufferings of the innocent people in India and to secure the freedom for India. Those Christians who offered the prayers believed that by prayers and innocent suffering others could be rescued from their sins. But even this simple method was suspected by the British politicians and they began to feel madness or treachery in it. **Ramsay Mac Donald** (1856--1937) He was the British Prime Minister in 1924 and again in 1929. **Superficial**—without depth or knowledge. **Yeast like**—like a yeast which is a yellow substance got from fermenting. **Yeast like spirit**—The spirit that swells and increases. **Roused** awakened.

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Response—answer given in act or word, feeling or movement elicited by stimulus. **Time and again**—frequently. **Political opponent**—enemy in the political field. **Spent force**—his influence had been reduced. **Dispersed**—removed. **Interned**—arrested but allowed them to live within prescribed limits. **Publications**—books. **Prohibited**—stopped from being read. **Shrinivas Shastri**—He was a famous Liberal statesman and President of the servants of India Society. Although he differed from Mahatma Gandhi in many things he was a great admirer of him. **Moderate**—liberal. **Dictum**—pronouncement having some considered and weighty opinion. **Ponder**—think over. **Considerably**—greatly. **This free child**—refers to Gandhiji, **Perforce**—under compulsion, of necessity. **Repression**—suppression. **Allies**—friends.

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Determining—deciding, fixing with precision. **Power of the spirit**—spiritual power. **Fertilized**—is made to produce results. **Dedication**—devotion. **Organic**—vital, important. **Mould**—shape. **This power ... mould it**—prophets have got determining spiritual power. This power in men like Gandhiji is further intensified by their devotion to one essential idea. This spiritual power produces results because they dedicate their soul to one great important idea. They

never by-pass or avoid life and its problems. They face them and shape the life according to their ideals. **Contempt-hatred.** **Paradox**—a statement which appears impossible and impracticable at its face but contains truth. **Realism**—practical views and policies. He walked straight down it in complete self-giving, cost what it might—Gandhiji pointed out the path for realising the freedom of India. He himself walked along the path voluntarily giving his life completely for it. He never worried about its results, **Beyond**—after death. **Coerced**—forced. **Tempted**—induced **Sought**—found. **Reservations**—expectation made about something, retention of some of the elements. **Politio**—judicious, prudent, wise.

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Retains—keeps. **We to them**—we in relation to them, we stand for the superiority and them stand for the people who are ruled by the foreign powers **Foresake**—give up, leave. **Paternalism**—fatherly ideas, fatherhood. **Even in its most liberal mood ... paternalism**—many British statesmen and imperialists think that they belong to a superior race and owing to their rich and judicious experience they have a right to rule over others. Even most liberal minded amongst these persons retain the feelings of the superiority. They do not know how to face and treat the revolting people as freedom loving souls and equal persons. They cannot see them on equal footing. It is like a father who does not want to give up his fatherly feelings of superiority in his relations with his children. **The Government of India Act**—this Act brought Federal Government in India in 1937. It was condemned by the Congress, though the Congress formed Ministries under it in the provinces, **Astonishing**—surprising. **Well-intentioned men**—persons who have good desires and feelings. **Earl Baldwin**—was the Prime Minister of England, first in 1923 and then in 1937. **An Act of British Parliament in Westminster**—the Act of 1935, the aim of which was to give more self-government to the Indians, was framed in England and passed in the British Parliament, instead of

allowing the Indians to do everything for it. **Cripps proposals**—proposals that were brought to India by Sir Stafford Cripps in 1942, when Mr. Churchill was the British Prime Minister. The proposals aimed to grant a large measures of self government to India. But they were rejected by all important political parties including the Congress, **Liberation**—freedom. **Withheld**—checked. **Denied**—rejected. **Irrelevant**—having no relation to.

General Questions and Answers

Q 1 Why does Gandhiji persist ?

Ans.—Audax wrote in the weekly paper the 'Observer' of August 9, 1842 that " the figure of Gandhiji persists. " The reason is that Gandhiji made his life the embodiment of the great organic idea. He identified himself with the freedom of India. Free India and himself became one idea. He was first free India and then prophet, politician and social reformer. To him self-government meant much more than a political condition. His spirit was never confined to political issues. He was imprisoned many times, his associates and friends dispersed and interred, and his books prohibited. But sooner or later people went back to him. and sought his advise. These factors enabled the figure of Gandhiji to persists.

Q. 2 " Being a man of spirit, the claim of this free child of God cannot be put permanently aside."

To whom does it refer and is it so ?

Ans. The statement refers to Mahatma Gandhi. He was a great prophet of spiritual power. He opened the path of freedom for India and walked along it straight in complete self-giving. This path of freedom belongs to a spiritual wholeness. He was a man of life. To him life was a forceful whole unit and not a series of separate categories—religious, political, philosophical or social. He demanded political freedom for India. This political freedom was essential. But to him **Swaraj** or self-government meant

much more than political freedom.

He had his own ideals. He put these ideals into practice in all life all the time. His action demands had the quality of uncompromising. It spared nothing even himself and his own life. Some statesmen thought that he was merely a politician and that his power had declined. But this was a superficial judgement. No doubt Gandhiji was astute in a political situation, but he never confined himself to political issues only. He saw life as an integrated whole and therefore he could arouse response from persons all over the world.

Another great thing about him was that he had deciding spiritual power. His dedication to one great organic idea intensified this power. It bore results. He faced the life and its problems and even shaped the life. This was his special function. Because of his determining power of the spirit he could not be forced but won. But this could be done after accepting freedom as a basic principle for future cooperation. The British Imperialists and Statesmen failed to realise this thing. They paid no attention to Gandhiji's spiritual powers. They did not know rightly how to meet the opponents as free spirits and equals. They failed to realise Gandhiji's complete self-giving for the freedom of India. Ultimately they had to come to the prophetic and symbolic figure of Gandhiji. They could not put his claims aside.

IV

The Humane Life

Humaneness of Gandhiji - The greatest persons in the life are those who have a united idea of the purpose of their existence and who show this purpose in every stage of their life. They are thus unified and are always humane. As they have this wholeness of nature their faith is "an energy of the whole man." They are never fanatics, because they act in a unity of life and not in separate divisions. Humane-ness lies at the very bottom of this life. It is the divine

link that rules great persons giving them kindness, pity, and understanding of the world. A person like Gandhiji could not but be built on such principles. His consideration, kindness and understanding is shown in two directions - (1) his attitude of ahimsa to the creatures and (2) his attitude to the outcaste suppressed human beings.

Ahimsa of Gandhiji—Ahimsa or non-violence had become to him the heart of all religions. He believed that the truth of all life on this earth of God is to be found in Ahimsa. It should be noted that Gandhiji took it in a strongly positive sense. Ahimsa was a call for him to act rightly and honestly. Because suffering of a person may demand positive relief, and pain may ask for quick ending. A violent action may be essential for kindness. The governing rule is that violence cannot be justified if it is done in the interest of the self. What is attractive here is Gandhiji's refusal for any hard and fast rule. A true man must always try to be humane and non-violent. In spite of this Gandhiji would always welcome any practical suggestions for solving the problem and getting free from the violent actions.

Like all Hindus, Gandhiji was greatly concerned for the right treatment of the cow. He would be terrified at any indifference to cow as cow is sacred animal. Yet he faced bravely opposition and criticism of Hindu fundamentalists when he allowed a suffering calf to be killed painlessly.

Gandhiji's question of untouchables—His humane spirit is best seen in his relation with the fifty millions of the out-caste Hindus. Here he was absolutely uncompromising. Once he remarked that untouchability is the greatest blot on the Hinduism. So long as Hindus regarded untouchability as part of their religion and considered it a sin to touch a section of their brethren, Swaraj was impossible to attain. Two of the strongest desires that kept Gandhiji's soul in his body were the liberation of the untouchables and the protection of the cow. He hoped that when these

two desires were fulfilled, there was Swaraj.

Once he adopted an untouchable little girl, though Mrs. Gandhi opposed it, but in the end she agreed. Thus the question of the outcaste Hindus had been very central to Gandhiji. He had been opposing Dr. Ambedkar because he aimed to separate the untouchables from the Hindu community altogether. Gandhiji tried to bring the inner reform of Hinduism in this matter. Here he was seeking a spiritual unity. He decided not to be a party to greater division and he challenged his fellow-Hindus of every caste on this matter. He started a campaign for the opening of the temples to the out-castes and he succeeded remarkably. The untouchables owe to Gandhiji more than any other person for their new position. He saw them all as brethren in his vision of New India. Mr. Edward Thompson rightly remarked that Mr. Gandhi's efforts to remove untouchability were not the least part of his striking career.

Gandhiji's insistence on village up-lift and removal of poverty—One another instance of Gandhiji's humaneness was his anxiety for the famine conditions of 1943-44. Both British and Indians shared his anxiety alike. What troubled Gandhiji was not the special famine conditions that affect India periodically, but the persistent poverty of the Indian masses. The result of this poverty is that when famine visits, there is no background upon which to maintain life. Another primary concern of Gandhiji was for the Indian village and its long suffering peasant life and its poverty. His insistence on the village uplift and removal of poverty had inspired many to do some active work.

Meaning and explanations

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The Humane—benevolent, compassionate. Compassion—pity, inclining one to help others. Hath—has. Possessed—have. Integrated—united. Conception—idea. The greatest men becoming—The greatest persons in life

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are those who have an united idea of the purpose of their very existence. They have one whole aim and idea of their life. In every stage of their life they show this purpose. They work for that idea at every stage. Personalities—persons having distinctive characteristics. Human—human beings, persons having life. Humane—kind and helpful. Dean Inge—He was born in 1860. He was English Divine and Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral 1911-33. Fanatics—whimsical persons; men who have mistaken idea of enthusiasm. Catagories—classes, divisions. Humaneness—kindness, the feeling of pity and benevolence. Divine—holy. Nexus—link, connection. Created—that which is made. Creative—that which creates or makes.

Explanation. They are never ... otherwise builded—The greatest persons have an integrated idea of the purpose of their life. They are never whimsical persons having wrong ideas about enthusiasm. Because they do not work in separate classes or divisions, but in a unity of life. They see life as one whole unit and act accordingly. Kindness and pity lie at the bottom of such united life. There is a divine link between the great persons and God. It is this link that dominates great spiritual persons and give them kindness, pity and understanding of the created and creative world. They feel benevolence and consider and understand all those that are made by God and those that create new ones in their own turn. A great spiritual person like Gandhiji could not but be built with such feelings. He must have benevolence, consideration and kindness.

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Creature world—all those persons & other creatures who are made by God. **Out caste**—untouchables. **The heart**—the central point. **C. F. Andrews**—Charles Andrews, an English Missionary, who lived in India and worked for Indian freedom. He was a devoted admirer of Gandhiji. **Holds**—believes. **This planet**—refers to this earth. **Positive sense**—in definite actions. **Righteous**—just and honest. **Challeng**

ing call to righteous action—Ahimsa called Gandhiji to act justly and honestly. Fetish—irrational respect. Static—unmoving, unchanging. Positive direction—Ahimsa points out definite and certain direction for actions; it is concentrated on facts. Suffering may call for positive relief—if one is suffering, that suffering demands immediate and definite cure. Agony—mental pain. No justification of violence on a basis of self interest—if some act of violence is performed in the interest of the self, it cannot be justified; but a violent action in the interest of Ahimsa or to reduce the suffering of others can be justified according to Gandhiji. Seek—try to find out. Coping—keeping level with.

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All life in the flesh—All creatures. Horror—fear. Indifference—apathy, lack of interest and sympathy. Braved—faced bravely. Antagonism—opposition. Fundamentalists—those who interpret religious books literally. सनातनी हिन्दू. Past healing—which was beyond cure. Odd—strange. Blot-spot. Wilfully—deliberately, intentionally. Attainment—achievement, getting. Keep in the flesh—maintain his soul in the body. Emancipation—liberation, freedom. Untouchables—depressed classes, out-castes.

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Dr. Ambedkar—he has been the famous leader of the Depressed Classes. Now he is Law Minister in the Nehru Cabinet. Scheduled castes—untouchables, depressed classes. Compromises—adjustments. Campaigns—struggles. Edward Thompson—he was a professor and writer at Oxford in England. He had great understanding of Indian literature and politics. Non-violent—that which is not violent.

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Not the least—most important. Illustration—example. Concern—anxiety worry. Afflict—trouble, distress. Periodically—from time to time. Persistent—continued. Scarcity—famine. Economic depression—lowering of the material prosperity and business of a country. Primary—main. Abiding—

permanent. ~~Stirred~~—moved. ~~Multitude~~—many. Has stirred to life a multitude of efforts—has moved many persons to do some active work in many ways.

General Questions and Answers

Q 1 What is humaneness and how was it expressed by Mahatma Gandhi ?

Ans. Humaneness means benevolence and compassion. The greatest persons in life have an integrated idea of the purpose of their very life and they show it in every stage of their life. They have thus unified personalities and their faith is " an energy of the whole man. " They do not act in a separate divisions but in a unity of life. Kindness and pity lie at the very bottom of such life. It is this humaneness that enables great persons to consider and understand the created and creature world. Gandhiji had this humaneness. This characteristic was shown by Gandhiji in three ways—first in the Ahimsa or attitude to the creature world and secondly in his relation to the untouchables and the outcaste and thirdly for the abiding poverty and village uplift in India.

Q. 2. Write a critical note on Ahimsa of Gandhiji.

Ans. Ahimsa or non-violence was a famous doctrine of Gandhiji. He tried to put it in action positively and succeeded remarkably well. Ahimsa had become to Gandhiji the heart of all religions. But he took it in a strongly positive sense. He thought that Ahimsa was calling him to act justly. As suffering demands positive relief and pain calls for a quick action to end it, Gandhiji's Ahimsa called for definite action. He advocated that violent actions could be performed to justify Ahimsa. He caused a suffering calf to be killed painlessly. Because it was past healing. Here is a peculiar but positive action of Gandhiji to justify his Ahimsa. According to him violent action in the interest of the self could not be justified but it could in the interest of Ahimsa. As a matter of fact he had no hard and fast rule for the Ahimsa. He always welcomed practical suggestions to keep up his Ahimsa and getting free from

the violence in the world.

Q. 8. What was the attitude of Gandhiji towards the untouchables.

Ans. Untouchables are the outcastes of the Hindu Community. They are depressed classes known as scheduled classes. The High Caste Hindus consider it a sin to touch them. They do not mix with them socially. Gandhiji's humaneness is best seen in his relation with these untouchables. They are fifty millions. He used to call them Harijans. Once he remarked that, "untouchability was the greatest blot on Hinduism." He warned the people that so long Hindus knowingly regarded untouchability as a part of their religion and thought it a sin to touch a section of their brethren, Swaraj was impossible to get. He expressed his view that one of his strongest desires was the liberation of the untouchables. He was so kind and humane towards the untouchables that once he adopted an untouchable little girl though his wife opposed it.

The question of the untouchable was so central to Gandhiji that he had been opposing Dr. Ambedkar, one of the chief leaders of the Schedule Castes. Dr. Ambedkar aimed to separate the untouchables from the Hindu community altogether, whereas Gandhiji tried to have the inner reform of Hinduism in this matter. In fact he was trying to have a spiritual unity in India. He did not like to be a party to any division of Hindu Community. He also asked sternly his fellow Hindus of every caste not to divide the Hindu Community by separating the untouchables.

To remove their disabilities he started campaigns throughout India. He succeeded in getting the temples thrown open to the outcastes. He saw the depressed classes as brethren in the vision of the new India. As a matter of fact the outcastes owe to Gandhiji more than other for their new position in the country. Mr. Edward Thompson rightly remarked that Gandhiji's efforts to remove untouchability were not the least part of his striking career.

V

Non-violent Resistance**Summary**

Satyagraha of Gandhiji—The most characteristic doctrine of Gandhiji in public affairs is the Satyagraha or non-violent resistance. It is the force of the soul as opposed to the material power and violence shown in the war by the Christian countries of the west. The Christian countries have become increasingly conscious of the war's moral wrong. This is shown by the message issued by the worldwide Conference of the non-Roman Churches at Oxford in July 1937. The message asked the nations of the world to condemn war, which could occur only as a fruit and manifestation of sin. In practice this is to be modified. But it shows a newly developing attitude. Total war is becoming very fearful and nations cannot allow it to continue unchecked in destroying life.

Gandhiji's opposition to evil and all kinds of sin—Gandhiji is not a non-resistant. He opposes very strongly evil, tyranny and all kinds of sin. He believed most thoroughly in the virtue and the power of resistance. His resistance is non-violence and conquers others by suffering. He tries to win over others by undergoing suffering for their sake. This method is greater than all reasonable persuasion. It has more power to convert people than violence and war have. The Christian countries of the west in theory believe the Christian doctrine that through undergoing suffering the sins of others could be redeemed. But in practice they do not follow it. They use military force.

Gandhiji's contribution to political thought-Satyagraha—The Western countries believe in the doctrine of redemptive suffering, but act contrary to it. Gandhiji's contribution to political thinking is his direct challenge to this Western dualism. They believe in some doctrine and act in opposition to it. Gandhiji would oppose material compulsion by the spiritual power, suffering and toleration. According to

Gandhiji this is a weapon to be used not only by individuals, but to settle international quarrels. In practice this weapon is a spiritual power. It appears in passive resistance. It overcomes brutal evil and sin by undergoing suffering to redeem the sins of others. This is Satyagraha, it is the force and truth of the soul.

Gandhiji's Satya and Ahimsa—According to Gandhiji Satya and Ahimsa are really one in essence. You cannot advance the truth of violent actions. Because truth is an inward feeling. According to Gandhiji Truth or Satya is God and Ahimsa is God's love and gentleness. This Ahimsa is hurt by evil thought, hatred and wishing ill to anybody. Hence Ahimsa is necessary for discovering truth,

Carl Heath regrets the refusal of the Christian Statesmen to use the weapons of Gandhiji. He feels sorry for their firm belief in weapons of violence and material power. Gandhiji had continuously thought and practiced resistance without violence or bloody revolution. He called off his Civil-disobedience Movement when it resulted in violence. When his followers and colleagues had forgotten the deeper meaning of non-violence and followed the Western methods of violence he fasted in repentance. Carl Heath feels sorry for the Western Christians for becoming angry on the Satyagraha and non-violent resistance of Gandhiji. In fact Gandhiji's doctrine of Satyagraha had close relationship to the teachings of Christ. Gandhiji himself wrote that, it was the New Testament which really awakened him to the rightness and value of passive resistance. Christ himself fearlessly faced hatred and wrong. He resisted it with the overcoming power of love and suffering and finally crucified himself. The crucifixion of Christ was not merely a weak evidence of suffering but it was a successful act of redemptive power. He underwent suffering to redeem the sins of others. Gandhiji, according to Carl Heath, had applied the teaching of Christ in the political sphere. This is the root of his offence and mistake. Satyagraha or non-

violence is a good religious doctrine. It is ideal one. But as a real fact in daily life it is not possible. When Gandhiji put his non-violence in Civil-disobedience Movement to oppose unjust law, autocratic Government of India was seriously alarmed.

Dangers of Satyagraha—Satyagraha really purifies soul. But it has its own dangers. It can be misused by the violent minded people and the supposed resistance may cover burning hatred for others. But if it is used in hatred and as a political weapon merely, it is no Satyagraha. Gandhiji had proclaimed that non-violence and Satyagraha is a doctrine of patient toleration and suffering to oppose firmly injustice and explanation. Even if then violent-minded persons have caused violence, while practising Satyagraha it is unreasonable to blame Gandhiji for his violence.

Satyagraha is a tremendous discipline—Satyagraha is a call to a great discipline Gandhiji had always enforced upon himself this discipline both in India and South Africa. It was the discipline of the devoted soul with the sole aim to serve the vision of the truth. This vision for Gandhiji was not for India only but for all humanity. This discipline involved at times the acceptance of suffering, disappointment and defeat which Gandhiji faced fully. Many times during his Satyagraha he must have known his weakness. Field Marshal Smuts had analysed this method of non-violent resistance and changing suffering with sympathy and understanding. Smuts says that it is a procedure which deserves the attention of political thinkers. It is Gandhiji's distinctive contribution to political method.

Satyagraha in the present politics is still such a new practice that there will certainly be mistakes of judgment in its application. The perfect manners of its working can come only by experience and long practice. In spite of this Rabindranath Tagore had rightly remarked that India has created a new technique in the history of revolution. It is in keeping with the spiritual traditions of India. If it

maintained in its purity it will be true gift of Indians to civilization.

Meanings and Explanations

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Fury—anger. **Quietness**—calmness. **Rage**—Anger.

Brought to bear upon—applied, influenced. **Non-violent resistance**—opposition without using illegal force. **Manifested**—shown. **Christian countries**—Western countries. Gandhiji had brought a new doctrine in public affairs namely Satyagrah; whereas the Western countries use power and violence and they are still engaged in violent warfare. The word "still" is in Italics. The writer here thus wants to point out that the west is still continuing the use of violence and power in the war and the West has been increasingly conscious of the fact that the war is morally wrong. Mr. Carl Heath wrote this when the second world war (1939-1945) was being fought furiously in Europe. **Evident**—clear. **Advent**—coming. **Conscious**—knows it fully **War's moral wrong**—the fact that war is morally wrong. **Universal**—world-wide. **Surveying**—observing. **Rooted**—established firmly.

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Pronounce—declare. **Unrestricted**—without any restriction or limits. **Manifestation**—coming to light, appearance. **Modification**—changes. **Aggression**—unprovoked attack.

Indicates—shows. **frightful**—fearful. **Exterminating**—destroying completely. **Devastation**—destruction, **Total war** ...

... **moral sanction**—war on large scale is becoming very fearful. It has been destroying nation after nation. As all the sources of men and money are employed in total war there is indiscriminate destruction of the combatants and non-combatants. Therefore the people do not like to continue such destructive war. They want to check the war in its destruction of human life. If they can not be so they should believe such destruction can have moral sanction. It is not possible. **Sturdy**—strong. **Tyranny**—high-handedness. **Vicarious suffering**—suffering that is undergone for others.

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for example the sufferings of Christ. **Converting**—changing. He seeks to win ... violence and war—Gandhiji tried to win over others not by persuasion and argument but by suffering for them. He sought to win over others undergoing suffering for them. This method is much more greater than those of reasonable arguments and rational advice. It is incomparably greater than persuasion. It has more power to change persons than violence and war can have. Vicarious suffering comparatively can change persons easily than force and war.

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Doctrine—principle. **Redemptive suffering**—to undergo suffering to lessen the sins of others. **Heathen**—non-Christians. **It is a strange phenomenon ... military force**—The Christian countries in the West believe in theory, only, the Christian doctrine of redemptive suffering. They believe in the principle that through undergoing suffering, the sins of others could be redeemed. They feel that Christ died on the cross for the sins of mankind and to save it. But in practical life the Christian countries do not follow this high doctrine. They use the non-Christian methods of power politics and military force. This is a strange thing.

Denied—refused. **Motive**—dominant idea. **Central**—main, primary. **Western dualism**—believe in the principle of redemptive suffering and yet acting contrary to it. **Contribution**—thing done in aid of common effort. **Political thinking**—thoughts of the politicians and Statesmen. **Challenge**—taking exception, denying. **Material**—that which is concerned with life and its external things; unspiritual. **Endurance**—tolerance. **Give way**—yield, surrender. **Martyrdom**—death sufferings, distress and discomfort. **Disputes**—quarrels. **Gandhiji's contribution to political thinking..... leads to martyrdom**—The Western countries believe in the principle of redemptive suffering, but they do not follow the doctrine in practice. This is dualism of the West. Gandhiji challenged this dualism. He denied it. This is his great

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contribution to the political thought of the day. By his spiritual force Ghandhiji opposed materialism though it brings great distress and discomfort. Although Ghandhiji's suffering and toleration brought good deal of discomfort but he never yielded to the force of materialism. **Passive**—peaceful, non-violent. **Spiritual force**—divine power of the soul. **Overooming**—defeating, **Brutal**—savage, wild. In practice it is suffering good—In practical life the driving power of the soul is a spiritual power. It appears in non-violent resistance. It is shown in Satyagraha. It enables one to undergo suffering to redeem the sins of others and thus defeat the wild evil deeds. Spiritual power can overcome wild violent and evil actions.

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Perception—understanding, becoming aware of, **Civil disobedience**—disobedience to Civil authorities. **Penitence**—repentance **Colleagues**—those who work together. **Implications**—underlying ideas **Contradictory**—opposite. **Excite**—rouse up, stir up. **New Testament**—The latter portion of the Bible containing historical account of the life of Christ and his Ministry **Passive resistance**—opposing the evil by peaceful and non-violent method, such as Satyagraha **Doctrine of turning the cheek**—Christ remarked during his preaching that if some one slaps on one cheek, turn the other also for a slap. In other words he preached non-violence and passive resistance.

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By good—by peaceful, non-violent good methods. **Cross of Christ**—the sufferings undergone by Christ on cross for the sake of mankind. **Resisting**—opposing. **Always resisting it** **failure of the cross**—Christ resisted evil by his great power of love and suffering; he overcame evil and finally sacrificed himself on the cross for the sake of mankind. It was the final test for him. It seemed that his suffering on the cross had been failure. But it was not so. **Was this cross a weak** **redemptive power**—Christ crucified himself!

on the cross to save the humanity. He suffered tremendously for the sake of mankind. Was his suffering on the cross, merely weak toleration or was it really a successful act to save the humanity by suffering for it. In fact it was a successful and effective act of Christ. He suffered there to redeem the sins of others. This teaching—refers to Christ's doctrine of turning the other cheek and resisting evil by love and suffering. **Offence**—crime, guilt. **Idealism**—representation of things in an ideal form. आदर्शवाद. **Tenet**—principle or doctrine. **Realism**—practical views; Gandhiji's doctrine of non-violence is a good religious principle. It is a good ideal. But in the daily life it is not practical. **Thoreau**—American author, lecturer and naturalist; his book 'Walden' greatly influenced Gandhiji. **Autocratic**—absolute, despotic. **Children of light**—great religious teachers who brought light to remove the darkness in the world. **Obvious**—clear. **Abused**—misused. **Instinctively violent minded**—those men who are violent by their very nature. **Cloak**—cover. **Flaming**—burning. **Proclaims**—announce.

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Exploitation—using other persons for one's own selfish purpose. **To accuse**—to charge, to find fault. **Contempt**—hatred. **The prince of peace**—Christ. **Orthodox**—Those who hold correct or accepted religious views. **Disciples**—followers. **Habitually**—customarily. **Turn to bomb**—use bomb. **Bayonete**—It is used here for guns. **Tremendous**—great. **And when Gandhiji proclaims** how things ought to be—Gandhiji has initiated a new doctrine of non-violence or Satyagraha in the political sphere. This non-violence is a principle to be used in opposing firmly injustice and exploitation by others. One who practises non-violence is to tolerate patiently all the troubles and difficulties. A violent-minded person who practises non-violence may misuse it. He may become wicked and violent even while practising non-violence. It is unreasonable to blame Gandhiji for such violence committed by violently-minded persons.

Gandhiji can not be accused for such violence. The orthodox followers of Christ believe rightly in His correct doctrines — But to enforce their religious views on others they use bombs and guns. They force others to accept their ideas. They threaten them with bombs and guns if they do not accept them. For such illegal and violent acts Christ cannot be hated and blamed. It is the fault of His followers. Similarly Gandhiji cannot be blamed if his violently-minded followers misuse his doctrine of passive resistance. Enforced—imposed, urged, pressed. Save—except. Vision—dream. Humanity—mankind. Happenings—events. Chastisement—punishment. Dungeons—great tower of castle in innermost court or baily. Bypath medows—there are some green medows on the path. One is tempted to stay there for some time. This makes one to lose his destination. The phrase 'by-path medow' means obstacle in the way that leads one astray from the main path. Doubting castle—the phrase here means that when one entertains doubts there is no end to it. When one gets into the castle of doubts there is no end to his suspicion and he cannot reach to any conclusive decisions. Many times there have come ... to the dungeon of doubting castles—Mahatma Gandhi had practised Satyagraha. During the period of Satyagraha he must have felt certain weakness. This would have led him to many doubts and uncertainty. He must have felt that he was led astray from his main path. He must have suffered for this. A pilgrim and his companions sometimes are led astray by the temptations of the way such as medow. They may enter the towers of castle of doubts. They may entertain many doubts about their destinations. Temptations on the way—doubts about many things—are obstacles on the path of a pilgrim and his companions. They prevent them from reaching their destination. Similarly the human weakness in Mahatma Gandhi during his Satyagraha must have led him astray. He must have suffered for this.

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Procedure—way, method. **Distinctive**—clear, definite. **Novel**—strange. **Errors**—mistakes. **Application**—adopting, using. **Created**—built, made. In keeping with—in maintaining. India has created a new technique ... of our people to civilization—Rabindranath Tagore pays tribute to Mahatma Gandhiji's novel method of Satyagraha. He remarks that India has brought forward a new method in the history of revolution. No other country in the world has created this novel technique of Satyagraha during its revolution. India has been regarded as the land of light. It has been famous for its spiritual ideas and traditions. The technique of Satyagraha is based upon the spiritual ideas of Satya, Ahimsa, endurance and patient suffering. Therefore India in creating this technique has maintained her spiritual traditions of the past. If this Satyagraha is maintained with all its purity, it will be India's great contribution to world's civilization.

General Questions and Answers

Q. 1 What is the main contribution of Gandhiji to the modern political thought?

Ans. The Western Christian Countries believe in the principle of redemptive suffering. But in practice they do not follow this doctrine but use military force. They believe in the high Christian ideal. But no longer seriously practised them. This is a kind of dualism. According to Carl Heath Gandhiji has challenged this Western dualism by introducing the new technique of Satyagraha. This is a great contribution of Gandhiji to modern political thought. He opposed material compulsion and brutal force by the driving force of the soul and the power of suffering and tolerance. This Satyagraha can be used not only by individuals but nations to settle their international disputes. When Satyagraha is practised in the form of non-violent passive resistance, it overcomes brutal evil and compels others to yield.

Q. 2 How Gandhiji opposed all kinds of evil and sins ?

Ans. Gandhiji opposed strongly all kinds of evils, sins and tyranny. But he developed a new technique of opposition. He was most thorough believer in the virtue & non-violent resistance. He aimed to win over others by patient suffering and toleration and not by rational persuasion. Therefore the method that he evolved for opposing evil tyranny and sin was passive resistance, or Satyagraha. It has more power to convert people than war or violence. This method has its own disadvantages. It can be misused by the instinctively violent-minded persons. It can be used as political weapon to cover deep hatred. But for this misuse Gandhiji cannot be blamed.

Q. 3. Write a critical note on the non-violent resistance of Gandhiji.

Ans. Non-violent resistance or Satyagraha is the most characteristic doctrine brought forth by Gandhiji in the field of politics. Satyagraha or passive resistance is the force and truth of the soul. Gandhiji believed firmly in Satya or truth and ahimsa or gentleness. Truth or Satya according to him is God. Therefore he based his new doctrine on Satya, Ahimsa and the power of the spirit. It takes into account the spiritual power of the soul.

By non-violent or passive resistance Gandhiji meant to oppose evil, tyranny and sin very strongly. As he believed more in a vicarious suffering than all rational persuasion, he advocated passive resistance. It is just like high Christian ideal of redemptive suffering. By passive resistance Mahatma Gandhi preached to oppose material compulsion and military force by the spiritual power of the soul, and by patient suffering and endurance. He aimed to oppose evil force patiently and overcome them by the power of love and suffering. He did not preach material violence or bloody revolution for resisting all manner of sin and evil.

His Satyagraha is a call to tremendous discipline. It is the discipline of the devoted soul with no aim to serve except the vision of the truth. This vision is for the whole humanity. At times this discipline involves acceptance of strange ways of

suffering, disappointment and defeat. This method of opposition is Gandhiji's distinctive contribution to political thought.

But some critics think that Satyagraha or non-violence has its own dangers. They think that as an idealism it is a good religious doctrine. But as a realism in daily life it is not practical. If instinctively violent-minded persons practise Satyagraha, they may misuse it. They may cause violence and use it to cover their deep hatred for their opponents. But it should be noted carefully that if Satyagraha is used in deep hatred as a mere political weapon, it is not Satyagraha at all. It defeats the very purpose of Satyagraha. In spite of all seeming dangers and defeats, Satyagraha is definitely a novel doctrine in the modern political world. Rabindra Nath Tagore has rightly remarked "India has created a new technique in the history of revolution, which is in keeping with the spiritual traditions of our country, and if maintained in its purity, will become a true gift of our people to civilization".

VI

Summary:—Carl Heath found it difficult to judge Gandhiji's relation with the British as the second world war was then going on. Mr. Carl Heath could not give his opinion on Gandhiji's relation with the British further, because the problems of the Second World War were complex, the British were in the middle of the war and sufferings, troubles and their passions mounted high.

India was dragged in the Second World War without her consent. When the Second World War was declared, the Indians had firmly decided to carry on their struggle for national freedom whole-heartedly. India's freedom stood first in their hearts. This would have been changed if the Indians were consulted for joining the Second World War. Canada, Australia and other free States of the British Commonwealth were consulted and they decided to join in the war with Great Britain. But India, which is nearly five times the size in population of all these countries put together, had no voice in their decision. The British

Government had enforced their decision on India & the Indians, were taken into the war without their consent being asked.

At that time Pandit Nehru wrote in the "News Chronical" of Octr. 10, 1939 that India could stretch out her hands in friendship only as a free nation on terms of equality. But the English people did not pay attention to this. It was only after their disaster and defeat in Malaya and Burmah that they sent Cripps Mission to India for negotiations.

Gandhiji continued the struggle for freedom though he was not a member of the Congress. The Indians continued their struggle for independance although they were dragged into war without their consent. To this is to be added Gandhiji's spiritual methods of resistance-non-violence. If the English people then had recognised India's claim to freedom and given Indians some power considering the dangers of war Gandhiji would have stood aside. In view of the pressure from Great Britain with no hope for immediate freedom, Gandhiji continued the struggl with the British Government. But some distinction is to be made between Gandhiji and the Congress. He was not strictly a member of Congress. His position was that of a spiritual dictator. He advised but did not decide. He was never requested to decide the policy of the Congress with regard to the war, nor to obstruct support to the cause of the United Nations throughout India.

England ignored India's claim of national struggle and demanded her support to fight Axis powers. It was a grave mistake. Pandit Nehru wrote an article in the News Chronical of October 10, 1939 "will this terrible war make an essential difference to human freedom and end the causes of war and human degradation? India will gladly throw in her resources for a new order of peace and freedom. If this kind of peace is the objective then the Allies' war and peace aims must be clearly defined.....The first step therefore must be a declaration of India's full freedom. This has to be followed by its application now, in so far as possible, in order to give people effective control of Government of India and the prosecution of war on India's behalf." If Indians had accepted the Cripps proposals and Great Britain had given Indians freedom as far as possible, the national

struggle for independence would have ended. There were persons who expected India's full support for the war ignoring India's claim for national freedom. There were some other persons who were pained when the Congress party Government in the provinces resigned instead of supporting Britain in war. Such persons could not imagine the passionate devotion which the struggle for freedom implies. These persons were asking the Indian Mazzinis and Garibaldis to stop their struggle with the British, because a greater dangerous problem of war was before the West. They were urging the Indians to call off their national struggle for freedom, without giving that freedom to India for which they claimed to be fighting the Axis Powers and asked Indian support for it. It was then essential that England ought to have understood India's national struggle if they wanted to understand India in the second world war and after Gandhiji's part there in.

Carl Heath does not defend the political decisions of the Congress. Carl Heath argues that he had never been a mere defender of the political decisions of the Congress, prompted by Gandhiji. He thought that the resignation of the Congress Governments in the Provinces in 1939 was an act of enthusiastic unwisdom. It was throwing away in anger the power that was held rightly. In 1941 Gandhiji was thrown in the background when it was hoped that Rajagopalacharia's attempt for cooperation with the Government of India would be successful. But when this attempt failed Gandhiji again became leader of the struggle. Carl Heath thinks that this was the politics of opportunists. It showed no certainty of the belief of the Congress in the matter of non-violence. Carl Heath is of the opinion that the rejection of the Cripps' Proposals was as unwise act as the Quit-India-Civil-dis-obedience Resolution of August, 2, 1942 of the Congress was provocative. In spite of this opinion Mr. Carl Heath remarks that, whether Gandhiji's reactions to British proposals were wise or unwise, the Indian leaders always came back to Gandhiji. Because he expressed in great measure the soul of India. This is a very important factor in the situation. Although the Indian leaders did not agree with Gandhiji on the immediate issues and

did not like his wisdom and outlook in life, they knew he was the soul of India and they could not do without him. As Gandhiji saw life a whole and integrated way he could not but take part in the political issues that India had to face. But Gandhiji was a disturbing moral conscience and a person who would never act as an ordinary politician. This is the opinion of Carl Heath.

Gandhiji never acted as an ordinary politician—his view on aggression of Japan:—Gandhiji would never act as an ordinary politician. To support this view Carl Heath quotes General Smuts who told in a press conference in 1942 that to accuse Gandhiji of playing fast and loose with the Japanese is "sheer nonsense". But Gandhiji's own way of meeting and treating Japanese violence and cruelty could never be that of the Christian Military Powers. His methods were not such as would be adopted by any Indian Government, Congress or any other. What Gandhiji had said or written, is to be found in Horace Alexander's Book "India since Cripps" Carl Heath here only wants to show the working of Gandhiji's mind on the Japanese aggression. The Japanese came into the war with the attack in Pearl Harbour on December 7, 1941. Gandhiji's belief then was aimed against the Americans and the British and not the Indians. In May 1942 he wrote that the British presence in India encouraged the Japanese to attack. The withdrawal of the British from India would make the Japanese to change their plans. If this did not happen Indians would resist the Japanese with non-violent non-cooperation. If the whole India followed this policy, risking the loss of many millions, the Japanese arms would be sterilised. Gandhiji sympathised with China and Russia. But he criticised America and Britain. Because they had no moral grounds to fight the war and they were not withdrawing from their power positions in Africa and Asia and removing the colour bar there. Gandhiji laughed at the idea when others criticised him for his pro-Japanese views and remarked that knowingly or unknowingly he would not take the step which would throw India in the position of merely changing masters.

Gandhiji held the view that on the question of war a National Government in India would make a treaty with the United

Nations for defensive purposes. Though he was thinking personally of non-violent defence, yet he foresaw that under a National Government India might be mad for war and then his voice for non-violence would be like a voice in the wilderness. On July 18th 1942 he made an appeal to the Japanese. There he requested them to stop their aggression on China and emphasised that the Indian National Movement was an unarmed revolt against British rule and therefore they needed no help from foreign powers in their struggle for independence.

All this would enable one to understand Gandhiji better. Because the events of summer of 1942 and the failure of Cripps' Mission made people to attack him as an enemy of Britain and a secret friend of Japan. It is "sheer nonsense" in the words of General Smuts.

Gandhiji's struggle for India's freedom and his invitation to Indians to enter the world of Ahimsa and truth — It must be recognised that for India which was struggling for national freedom, the war was incidental. When it was over the same situation would be there unless a previous wise act found a solution for it. In the meantime Great Britain was realising that all her intentions were obstructed in India and the burning need according to Gandhiji was India's freedom immediately. But according to him this freedom was not the breaking of the political relation with Great Britain. India's freedom means an advance of India into a new life when all things would undergo a change and war, its methods, exploitations and all forms of human opposition must stop. Gandhiji invited Indians to enter this world of truth and Ahimsa. It would claim a severe discipline, a new education, a devotion to God and a selfless service to men. It would involve physical labour, humility and sacrifice. But it would be Life in the Truth. In a little book he sent his message to his Ashram people from Yeravada Central prison in 1930. It was a message of truth. He wrote that it would be very beautiful if all the people of the Asram devoted themselves to truth in all that they did in their waking hours. He explained truth in an article in an important book on "Contemporary Indian philosophy". There he says "truth is God; now-a-days

nothing so completely describes my God as Truth" Thus his claim is for entire devotion to God. This is Gandbi, the prophetic man. Pro. J. H. Muirhead in 1939 wrote that at the time when leaders in other countries were either challenging the existence of human justice or moral governance of the world or trying to do justice to one class by the persecution of another, Gandhiji was engaged in a struggle for the freedom of India and of any class to another classes in the name of unity of mankind and of a kingdom not of the world. Mr. Carl Heath regards this estimate of Gandhiji true and fine.

Meanings and Explanations

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Conflict—struggle, **Stretch out**—hold out, extend. **Second World War**—It was initiated by Hitler. Germany, Italy Japan etc., were ranged against France, England, America Russia etc. in this war. It was the most disastrous war that was ever waged in the world. It lasted for six years from 1939 to 1945. **Complex**—Complicated **Heart**—middle. **Struggle**—refers to the 2nd world war. **Endurance**—toleration. **Passions**—emotions. **Mounted high**—reached a very high point. N. B. The second world war raised many complicated and important problems. The English nation was passing through a great national crisis during the war. It was suffering and tolerating many miseries and difficulties; their passion were excited. To crown their miseries Gandhiji's re-asserted India's claim to freedom and started his struggle for the national liberation. At this juncture it was not an easy task to estimate Gandhiji. Carl Heath wrote his article on Gandhiji during the closing period of this war and therefore his task was more difficult. **Salient**—important. **Committed**—involved, bound. **Perspective**—view, prospect. **Verge**—border, **Constitutional liberation**—freedom authorised by Great Britain; national freedom secured according to the constitution.

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Impending—coming. **Struggle of the nations**—It refers to the second world war. N. B. India was on the point of securing her national freedom and two and half years after the Second

World War she was to be assured of complete independence. Infact she got her freedom after the war. Inspite of all this India was not consulted whether she would join the Second World War on the side of Britain, though other countries of the British Common-Wealth such as Canada, Australia, Africa etc. were consulted. But India was not consulted at all; on the contrary the British decision to join war was forced on her. Mr. Carl Heath did not favour this. It naturally wounded the national feeling of India more seriously at the time when the struggle for freedom was going on more vigorously.

Eire--It refers to Ireland. **Neutrality**--not joining any of the fighting parties. **Stirring**--Exciting, sensational. **Disaster**--sudden and great misfortune or calamity. **Impending**--coming. **Common**--wealth--It refers to the British Dominion which consists of semi-independent countries as Canada, Ireland, Australia, South Africa, Newzeland etc. **Consent**--agreement, acceptance. **Comradeship**--friendship. **Stretch out her hand...terms of equality**. India would extend her help to Great Britain in the war. This would be friendly help. Such help could come from India only if she were considered as an independent nation enjoying equal status. **Deaf imperial ears**--The British Imperialist did not pay attention to the appeal of Pandit Nehru. **J. A. Spender**--a famous British journalist and editor of West Minster Gazette for a long time. **The Times**--It is a famous English daily newspaper from London. **News Chronicle**--It is a famous influential Liberal daily newspaper from London. **Disaster in Malaya & Burma**--During the second world war the British were defeated by the Japanese in Burma and Malaya. They had to retreat early in 1942 and that for losing Singapore to the Japanese.

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Politic--Wisdom, prudence. **Rooted**--fixed deeply. **Freedom**--It refers to the freedom for India. The nationalists refers to the Indians who were struggling hard to secure independence for Indian. **Given a due exercise of Powers**--were given some political power to conduct the Government of the country. **Grave**--serious. **Imperial**--it refers to the British

imperial power. **Prospect**—hope. **Counselled**—advised. The occupying power—refers to the British who had occupied India and ruled there. **Spiritual Director**—One who directs and guides spiritually. **Counsels**—advises. He counsels, he does not decide—Gandhiji merely advised and guided, he did not decide the policy of the Congress. Decision was left to others. **Hinder**—Obstruct. **United Nations**—During the Second World War the 26 countries which were fighting the Axis powers drew up on January 2nd 1942 a declaration by the United Nations. Later on other countries also joined it and now-a-days it constitutes a powerful world organisation of independent nations numbering 59. It is known as the United Nations Organisation.

What might have been a full national support of the United Nations cause—If India would have declared war openly against the Axis powers and the Congress supported it, it would have been like helping the cause of the United Nations which themselves were fighting the Axis Powers.

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Degradation—deterioration. **Resources**—Collective means for support and defence. **Objective**—aim. **Allies**—refers to England, France, America and those nations who had fought against the Germans. **Declaration**—announcement.

Prosecution—carrying on, continuance. **Had**—It is used in the sense of 'if'. **Response**—reply.

Cripps's Proposal—During the second world war Sir Stafford Cripps came to India on behalf of the English Government in 1942 with certain proposals to grant freedom to India. But these proposals were rejected by all important political parties including the Congress. Because the English Government tried to continue its hold to some extent over India.

To implement—to complete, to fulfil. **War**—It refers to the second world war. **Irrelevant**—not to the point. **Prosecution**—Continuation. **Aggrieved**—pained. **Substituted**—Given in place of. **Misconceiving**—thinking wrongly. **Passionate**—strong feeling. **Easily moved to**—Easily aroused. **Evokes**—calls up. **Aggrieved**—pained. **Substituted**—put in place of it. **Resig-**

nation of the Congress party Governments—The Congress Ministries in the provinces resigned in 1939 on the issue that India was not consulted in the declaration of war on its behalf.

Had the response been on the lines of.....always evokes—The proposals, brought to Indian leaders by Sir Strafford Cripps from the British Cabinet to give more measure of freedom, were rejected by the Indian leaders. Because these proposals did not give immediate freedom to India. If these proposals were accepted by the leaders, India would have got some measure of freedom immediately. If it would have been so the movement for Indian independence would have certainly ended. There is no doubt about it. There were persons in Great Britain who expected India to support England in the second world war. But they completely neglected the claims of India for her immediate freedom. They wanted India to help Britain fully to fight out the war; but they did not pay attention to India's own claim for her freedom. They were much pained to see that the congress party in provinces, instead of supporting Great Britain in fighting out the war, resigned from the Government. Such persons were wrong in their judgement. They failed to realise that the cause of national freedom calls up more devotion than any other thing. They did not realise that the cause of national freedom was more appealing to the Indians than the war with Germany on behalf of Great Britain.

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Mazzinis and Garibaldis—Mazzini and Garibaldi were the famous Italian patriots to win the struggle for freedom in Italy. Here Mazzinis and Garibaldis refers to the Indian leaders who were struggling hard to secure freedom for India.

To call off—to stop. Imperial occupier—refers to Great Britain who had occupied India. **Impending—**coming, appearing dangerous. **Indication—**Sign. **Axis powers—**refers to Germany, Italy, Japan and their supporters in the last world war. **N. B.** Great Britain was claiming to fight against the Axis Powers to secure freedom and they were asking India to support her in her war with the Axis Powers. But Great Britain was unwilling to grant this very freedom to India. The British

failed to understand the struggle of India to secure her own freedom. Britain did not understand India and Gandhiji's part in the struggle of independence for India.

Prompted—actuated. Unwisdom—foolishness.

Resignation of the Congress Governments—The Congress ministries in the Provinces resigned in 1939 on the issue that India was not consulted in the declaration of war on its behalf. This was not liked by Mr. Carl Heath. He thinks that it was throwing away in anger the power which was rightly held by the Congress. **Indignation — anger. Rajgopalacharia —** A famous and old Congress worker, the Prime Minister of Madras Province from 1937-39, the Governor-General of India from 1947-1950.

Would bear fruit—be successful. Opportunist Politics— Politics adopted to suit the circumstances of the moment. **Party—** Here refers to the Congress. **N. B.—**In 1941 Gandhiji dropped out from the Congress field. He was thrown in the back ground and Mr. Rajagopalachari came forward. He discussed the matter with the then Government of India to bring co-operation and agreement between the Congress party and the British Government. But all this failed. This was followed soon by Mahatma Gandhi's return to the field of politics. He again became the leader. Mr. Carl Heath Criticises this move. He calls it politics that were adopted to suit the circumstances. It did not point out the real views of the Congress about nonviolence.

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Rejection—refusal. Quit-India Civil-Disobedience—It refers to the famous resolution moved by Mahatma Gandhi and passed by the Congress on August 8, 1942. It asked the British to leave India. As a result of this the great August Civil Disobedience campaign began in India. Mr. Carl Heath is of the opinion that the Quit India Resolution of the Congress was very provocative. **Provocative —** Intentionally irritating. **Deeds—actions. Vital —** important. **Resent —** feel and show anger. **Sagacity—**wisdom. **Saturated—** imbued with. **Spent force—** power that has been exhausted. **Notion—idea. Cease—stop.**

Confront—face. Integrated — United. Consequence — result. Assert—Say with certainty. General Smuts—Field Marshal Smuts, born in 1870, is a South African statesman and soldier. He was the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa in 1919 and again in 1939. He denounced those who accused Gandhiji of pro-Japanese feeling.

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Playing fast and loose—Pretending fun.

That of the Christian Military force—the soldiers of the Western Christian nations would use their military powers against the Japanese; Gandhiji would not use soldiers against the Japanese. Lucidly—beautifully. Horace Alexander—He was born in 1889. He was a history-scholar, king's College Cambridge. In 1927-28 he visited the East and has since followed the Indian affairs closely. He has written many books including "India Since Cripps" as a Penguin "Special".

Indicate—show. Resisting—opposing. Attack in Pearl Harbour—The Japanese bombed the American ships in the Pearl harbour on December 7, 1941, destroying and damaging a great many. This made Americans declare war against Japan. Aggression—Un-provoked attack. Directed—aimed. Convinced—firmly persuaded. Incentive—encouragement. The Japanese attack—The Japanese attacked India in the East after conquering Malaya & Burma in 1942 during the last world war.

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Strategic—having military or naval importance. Ports—harbours. Stubborn—Obstinate, unyielding. Responded—answered followed the advice. Aliens—Here refers to the Japanese soldiers. Sterilised—made ineffective. Determination—firm decision. To give any quarter—to give shelter or refuse. Several—many. To risk—to sacrifice in battle. Unless they put their own houses in order—it refers to the subjugation of small countries by Britain and America. Unless they granted freedom to their subordinate countries and establishing complete peace and order there. Power position—Places of strategic importance. Colour bar—The idea of black and white races which is an obstacle to the progress of humanity. Britain &

America in Africa and Asia follow the policy of colour-bar. They favour the white races there and dominate over the black races. **Pro-Japanese**—Having the inclination towards Japan, favouring the Japanese. **Passionately**—intensely, having strong feeling. **Consciously**—knowingly. He could only laughmerely changing masters—Some British critics remarked that Gandhiji was favouring the Japanese. Gandhiji could only laugh at this idea. He was never pro-Japanese. A few other British people remarked that Gandhiji knowingly or unknowingly would take such measure which would make India subordinate to the Japanese. As he was intensely devoted to the cause of India's freedom he would make the British go away and allow the Japanese to occupy India. His step would thus lead to merely a change of masters for India. But this was not the case at all. Gandhiji was never favouring the Japanese. He was firm in his determination to sterilise the Japanese arms. **Operations**—works. **United Nations**—refers to the allies in the second world war. **Foresées**—Sees before hand.

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Go-war mad—might be very mad to fight. **Wilderness**—Jungle. **A voice in the wilderness**—The voice of a man in the jungle is ineffective, similarly the voice of Gandhiji would be ineffective if the Indians would be very eager to fight out a war. **Pleading**—appealing. **Cease**—stop. **Aggression**—Offensive attack. **Aid**—help. **Stupid**—foolish. **Verdict**—decision, judgement. **Sheer**—only. **Vast**—great, extensive. **Incidental**—has come by chance or incident. **Prevenient**—previous. **Prior**—earlier. **Distrust**—lack of faith and belief. **Intentions**—desires.

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Now—has a specific meaning here, it shows that Gandhiji was anxious to get the freedom for India then; he would not like the freedom to be postponed to any indefinite future date. **Severence**—breaking. **Bond**—relation. **Essential**—Necessary **Part of the picture**—here it refers to the picture of political freedom of India. When India gets her freedom the political relations between India and Britain are to be broken; there

is to be no subjugation of India by Britain. This is an essential part. Transformation—change. Exploitation—using other persons for one's own selfish purpose. Cease—stop. Self-less-service of men—Serving and helping the humanity without thinking of reward in return. Call for—demand. Humility—humbleness, meekness. India's freedom means an advancelife in the truth—Gandhiji wanted India to become free. He was trying for this. But India's freedom had different meaning for Gandhiji. India's freedom meant progress of India into a new life according to Gandhiji. India after achieving her freedom would enjoy a new life. Then all things would change considerably. There would be no war. The methods of fighting war and exploiting others would be no more. All kinds of oppression not only of men but of nations would also be stopped. Gandhiji wanted the Indians to practise truth and Ahimsa. The practice of Ahimsa and truth would mean severe discipline. It would be a kind of new education for those who practise it. It would be like devotion to God and the service of mankind, expecting nothing in return. It would demand regular physical labour, humbleness and self-sacrifice for the sake of others. Those who would practise truth and Ahimsa must work hard. They must be humble, honest and self-sacrificing. This would enable one to lead life with all truth. Yeravada Central Prison—It is near Poona. Gandhiji was imprisoned there many times. Contribution—article written for a book.

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Prof. Radhakrishnan—Sir Radhakrishnan is a well-known Indian philosopher and interpreter of ancient Indian philosophy. For some time he was vice-chancellor of the Benaras Hindu University and Professor of Philosophy in Oxford University, England. Nowadays he is ambassador of India in Moscow. Prof. J. H. Muirhead—He is Emeritus Professor of Philosophy, University of Birmingham, England. Challenging—calling to account, disputing, denying. Moral Governance—Governing the morals, rules concerning right and wrong, and duty & virtues. Seeking—trying, finding. Persecution—ill-treatment, oppression. Engaged—involved. Crusade—Holy war.

Deliverance—freedom. Bondage—slavery. Another nation—here it refers to Great Britain. **Any class in India to other classes**—It refers to Gandhiji's movement to abolish untouchability from India. The depressed classes were oppressed by the high caste Hindus. Gandhiji tried to improve the lot of the depressed classes. **A kingdom not of the world—Heavenly kingdom.** At the time.....not of the world—Prof. J. H. Murihead wrote in 1939 that some leaders in other countries were declaring that human justice did not exist. They were telling that there was no justice in the world. They were also challenging the moral code of the world. They were trying to find fault with the authority and their rules governing the morals and virtues in the world. They were also trying to secure justice for one class of persons by ill-treating and suppressing the other class. During all this time Gandhiji was engaged in the struggle for securing the freedom for India. He was trying to get India free from the British slavery. In the name of mankind and God's kingdom he was also trying to free the untouchables from the oppression of the high caste Hindus. Thus while the leaders in other countries of the world were busy in criticising the existing methods in the world, Gandhiji was engaged in some constructive work in India namely the national freedom for India and abolishing the untouchability in India.

General questions & answers.

Q. 1. "India was dragged in the second world war by England and the Congress Party Governments in the the Provinces resigned" Are these justified? What does Carl Heath think about these?

Ans:—The Second World War (1939-1945) was fought between England, France, Belgium, Holland, Canada, Australia, South Africa, America & Russia on one side and Germany, Italy, Japan and their allies on the other side. England declared that she was fighting the cause of freedom against Nazism. England consulted the members of the Commonwealth such as Canada, Australia & South Africa for joining the war. They were given full freedom to decide. They chose to join in the war with Great Britain. But India which is nearly five times the size

in population of all these put together, was not consulted at all. She had no voice in the decision. England dragged her in the war and thus India was compelled to support Britain against her will. The Congress party then had formed the Provincial Governments in India. As a protest against this the Congress party resigned in the provinces. England was never justified in dragging India into war against her consent. Carl Heath supports this view, but he criticises the Congress for resigning.

England was not justified because

The Indian nationalists had deeply committed to a whole time struggle for national freedom. India's freedom was first in all their thoughts. They did not like England to force war on India without first granting freedom to India. They felt that their self-respect was wounded, when they were taken into the war without their consent being asked for. Indian leaders like Nehru then pointed out that India would be willing to help Britain, but she could do so only as a free nation on terms of equality.

England declared that she was fighting for the freedom of the oppressed nations. She made no difference to human freedom. She was professing the cause of freedom, but not granting freedom to India. England completely ignored India's claims of national freedom. The English people failed to understand the cause that national freedom always evokes. They asked India to support Britain for fighting the cause of freedom. But that very freedom England was not ready to give to India.

Carl Heath, though criticises England for not giving freedom to India, does not defend the Congress resignation. According to him the Congress resignation was an act of enthusiastic unwisdom. It was throwing away in anger the power that was held rightly by the Congress.

Q. 2 What were the views of Pandit Nehru and Gandhiji on Britain's dragging India into the second world war ?

Ans:—Like other national leaders Nehruji and Gandhiji did not like the idea of joining the second world war without first securing India's freedom. In some of the English papers Nehruji wrote that if the aim of Britain in fighting the Axis

powers was to secure freedom and establish new order of peace, the first step for England was to give full freedom to India. And people should be given the effective control of the Government of India. If Britain would give freedom to India, Indians would gladly throw in their resources to fight Britain against the Axis power. Gandhiji also favoured the same view. It was on the advice of Gandhiji that the Congress Ministries in the Provinces resigned. Gandhiji once wrote that America and Britain lacked moral basis for fighting in that war. They should put their own houses in order by granting freedom to the nations under their Government in Africa & Asia and remove the colour-bar.

Q. 3. "But in consequence he is a disturbing moral conscience and one more-over that will never act as an ordinary politician" To whom does it refer? Do you agree with the view of Carl Heath?

Ans:—The above statement refers to Gandhiji. Carl Heath says that Gandhiji was a disturbing moral factor. He never acted as an ordinary politician. Because he had wisdom that was saturated with a moral and religious principle and he saw life a whole and integrated way. Before he acted he thought over all the aspects of the problem concerned. Then he opposed with non-violent forms of resistance. I agree with Carl Heath that Gandhiji was more than an ordinary politician. Gandhiji's views on the Japanese aggression point out that he never acted as an ordinary politician.

During the second world war, the Japanese conquered Malaya, Burma, Borneo and invaded India. At this time Gandhiji asked the British to leave India and allow the Indians to manage their own affairs. The British statesmen then accused Gandhiji of being pro-Japanese. They told the world that Gandhiji was playing fast and loose with the Japanese. They attacked him as an enemy of Britain and a secret friend of Japan. This was a wrong view. It was a sheer nonsense according to Field Marshal Smuts. Gandhiji was never Pro-Japanese. In 1942 he wrote articles and explained his view point.

When the Japanese attacked the Pearl Harbour on December 7th 1941 and entered the war, Gandhiji believed that the Japanese attack was directed against the Americans and the British and not against the Indians as such. Gandhiji thought that the withdrawal of the British from India would make the Japanese change their plans. If this did not happen and the Japanese occupied strategic places, Indians would offer stubborn non-violent non-co-operation. This would make the Japanese arms ineffective. He asked the Indians not to surrender to the Japanese on any point. They should be ready to risk the lots of many million lives for resisting the Japanese. Thus Gandhiji's own way of meeting and treating Japanese violence and cruelty could never be that of the Western Military Powers.

When the question of war was brought before him he held the opinion that a national Government should enter into a treaty with the United Nations for defensive operations. He always thought of the non-violent defence.

In July 1942 he made an appeal to every Japanese. There he requested them to stop their aggression on China. He also emphasised that the Indian National Movement was an unarmed revolt against the British rule and that the Indians did not need any help in their struggle from any foreign power. All these facts point out that Gandhiji was an extra ordinary politician.

Q. 4 What were the views of Gandhiji about the Japanese aggression ?
or

British statesmen remarked during the second world war that Gandhiji was an enemy of Britain and a secret friend of Japan.

Do you agree with this verdict ?

Ans:—Refer the answer above

Q. 5 "Gandhiji was engaged in a crusade for the deliverance of India from bondage to another nation and of any class in India to other classes, in the name of the unity of mankind and of a kingdom not of the world" Discuss.

Ans:—Describe here Gandhiji's attempts to secure the political freedom of India from Britain, Gandhiji's meaning of free-

dom; his new technique of Satyagrah, civil-disobedience movement; his attempts to secure the emancipation of the untouchables, his views about untouchability etc.

VII

THE PRISONER AND THE VICEROY.

Summary:—The strange and moving correspondance between Gandhiji and the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow. There was some correspondence between Gandhiji and Lord Linlithgow, the then Viceroy of India, during December 1942, & Jan. & Feb. of 1943. Gandhiji was then a prisoner of the British Government. He was accused of creating a rebellion of violence. Then he as well as his colleagues were interned. Some of them were provincial Ministers and Prime Ministers and members of Provincial legislature, while others were persons of great fame. In addition to these, thousands of other lesser people were arrested. The Viceroy, who was the deputy of the Imperial Government, was in Delhi exercising great powers. Gandhiji and the Viceroy corresponded as friends. Gandhiji asked him why he (the Viceroy) had arrested. Gandhiji wrote to him that both of them were friends and loved to think so.

This correspondance is historic. It should be read carefully and sympathetically. Because both the writers are religious men and each makes a strong case. Both exercise restraint and patience. The viceroy accused him of the violence and rioting that took place after his arrest. Gandhiji asked him very simply why the Viceroy accused him so. He should call him (Gandhiji) and convince him of his error and then Gandhiji would repent for it. The British Government held the opinion that the policy of the famous resolution of August 8, 1942 was the root cause of the violent rebellion. Gandhiji wrote to the Viceroy that if it was so, he (Gandhiji) should be allowed to consult his fellow prisoners and colleagues and then he might modify the policy of the Congress Resolution.

Gandhiji recalled in his letter to the Viceroy that he had condemned openly any violence on the part of the Congress

workers and he had publicly repented for it more than once. After two months long correspondance Gandhiji wrote that if he could not secure the freedom for India and stop the violence, he would fast according to his capacity. Lord Linlithgow then remarked that such a fast was a form of political blackmail and an easy way out of difficult situation. Gandhiji resented this remark very much and replied that it was beyond his comprehension to understand that a friend like Linlithgow could assign such a low and cowardly motive to his fast. Inspite of thus the Viceroy did not change his decision. His idea was that Gandhiji should repent for the August Resolution of the Congress and the violence caused thereby.

Gandhiji's redemptive fast—Gandhiji then started his fast. It made no change in the political situation. The British Government remained hard and unmoved. After a year he was released unconditionally by Lord Wavell the next Viceroy. Carl Heath remarks that the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, might have earned a lasting fame by winning over Gandhiji and thus securing his cooperation. But he did not do so. Once again the opportunity for conciliation passed away and the gulf between India and Britain was deepened. Then Carl Heath sounded a note of warning to Lord Wavell; the next Viceroy and asked him to show a spiritual capacity which Linlithgow lacked and to heal the sore place that separated Britain from India.

Steps for conciliation and winning over India—Carl Heath wanted Britain to reconcile with India during the second world war. He wanted to remove tense antagonism between India and England and resolve India's struggle with Britain in justice and cooperation. For this purpose he suggested the following steps.

"The first step is a clear recognition of spiritual methods. There should be no feebleness and sentimentality in the minds. They should reconcile. But unfortunately when such attempt for conciliation is made, people find out the wrong doing of other nations and persons. Therefore, even deeply religious and Christian people put aside the idea of reconciliation as inappropriate and they have a weak spiritual idea that "a time will come" for reconciliation. This is a sentimental attitude.

It must be removed. People must have a new understanding of social order. They must have a new idea of the integrated social life of man. They must have willingness to experiment courageously in spiritual methods.

We need to get rid of this sentimental attitude which sees the other side as the lower depressed class. We must also get rid of those people who claim that there is no other way of reconciliation but military force. Such people at last come to negotiation when their military power is exhausted and their methods for destruction and repression are clearly shown. Those who want conciliation must add good deal of Greek intelligence to the qualities of good heartedness and altruism that they may have. Conciliation should be as the immediate practical path that will stop the degradation of human spirit when military power is used. Such conciliation should build a new and definite integration. It is the immediate practical cooperative activity of intelligent men of goodwill. Conciliation does not mean surrender of principle. It does not demand a change of judgement on the part of any for the causes of the present quarrel or disorder. But it calls for a sympathetic intelligence, a recognition of human error and weakness and an eagerness to find the "will of God".

Spiritual conditions for reconciliation—Reconciliation and eagerness to find God's will involve certain spiritual conditions. Man cannot find God's will nor can make constructive efforts for integration unless there is the spirit of freedom, equality and brotherhood. They cannot find God's will or seek reconciliation without spiritual grace. Where these spiritual conditions are avoided, the decisions, made there, are nothing but modifications of decisions of military power. They have no creative grace. Europe during the second world war has been an important example of unchristian and unreconciling method. There could be no peace in Europe until nations there suppose in their relations with each other that each nation is free, equal and friendly; that all have common life in which agreement can be reached. They cannot be reconciled unless they suppose so. Unhappiness, disorder, national rivalry and war must remain as

germs of disease in the body of European continent and Islands, so long there is no equality, friendliness and common agreement.

Carl Heath's suggestion to reconcile India—Indian situation calls for certain acts involving changes. Carl Heath suggests that what is needed first is to re-imagine the situation by changing places mentally with Indian nationalists who are demanding India's freedom. Nothing can be agreed by repetitions of the same unimaginative order that the other side is wholly to blame. Nothing can be done until they confess their own errors. Such attitude is untrue. It is uncreative and it is also political bankruptcy in the tense situation in India.

The next step for conciliation with India is free consultation. British statesmen on the one hand repeat that the Indian leaders must first find unity among themselves, on the otherhand they prevent Gandhiji from communicating with his colleagues in prison and other outside leaders. Such useless and provocative statement has been repeated again even by high British Officials. Such repetition is not only worse but useless.

The next step would be for the Viceroy to call a meeting of all the leaders. He should meet them. It is wrong to suppose that they would not come. If they know the Viceroy's determination to bring conciliation they would certainly come. Carl Heath praises Lord Wavell, the then Viceroy, for his great anxiety over India's poverty. But the problem of India's poverty cannot be solved, like other problems while the political tension in India remains as an open sore and the British Government refuses to make any further effort for peace and conciliation.

Carl Heath points out that the political issue during the second world war has gone far beyond the political issue of Great Britain and India. There is the general Far-Eastern problem after the war. The seeds of deep enmity, a stiff and intransigent spirit and refusal to move are being sown. This has alarmed much informed American opinion. Nations at war do not remain enemies indefinitely. Is India to look to the western countries with friendship, or will she turn with bitterness at heart for strong combination with China and a new rising Japan. Mr. Carl Heath warns that the British imperialists

are sowing dangerous seeds.

Carl Heath sounds a note of warning that India would become free.—While the British Imperialists are not making sincere efforts to reconcile India, Gandhiji occupies high place in the affection and respect of millions of Indians and of many thousands in all parts of the world including Great Britain too. "The figure of Gandhiji persists". The war (the second world war) is going on in all its fury and destructiveness. None can say what kind of Europe or East would come out. Though the greatest of wars come and go and are forgotten, but great ideas cannot be lost or destroyed.

India will be free—In her freedom India will not forget Mahatma Gandhi who opened up the path of freedom for India. Through out his public life Gandhiji has spoken that among the fighting nations free India would rise carrying high brimming bowl of life; and in Gandhiji India spoke to the wide world a message that would enlighten the humanity.

The wider world would not forget Gandhiji's prophetic soul. It would learn through suffering to put aside violence finally from practice and to face life cooperatively in Satya and Ahimsa. It would then pay homage to the Indian apostle, Gandhiji. He tried to make Satya and Ahimsa a daily realism and a new creation, not for India only, but for all humanity.

Meanings & Explanations.

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The prisoner—here it refers to Mahatma Gandhi who was imprisoned after the August Resolution of 1942. **The viceroy**—here it refers to Lord Linlithgow who was then the Viceroy of India. **Contrary**—in opposition to. **Biblical**—regarding the Bibl, the main religious book of the Christians. **Injunction**—authoritative order or advice. **Harboured**—Sheltered. **Expire**—end. **Disburdening**—unloading. **Rankling**—giving constant pain. **State prisoner**—refers to Gandhiji. **Accused**—Charged of cheating, exciting, making. **Colleagues**—coworkers. **Standing**—status. **Eminence**—importance. **Deputy**—person appointed to act for others.

The imperial Government—refers to the British Government. **Immense**—great. **Will become historic**—will become very important in history. **Both**—refers to the Viceroy and Gandhiji. **Restraint**—check. **At home**—it refers to the home of Linlithgow in Scotland.

Lord Linlithgow—Viceroy of India during the greater part of the second world war. He imprisoned Gandhiji with other Congress leaders after the Quit-India Resolution of the Congress. **Modify**—make particular changes. **Prisoner friend**—refers to Gandhiji who was imprisoned and the Viceroy regarded him as his friend. **Rioting**—rebellion causing disorder and violence. **Internments**—Living within limits in prison. Gandhiji was imprisoned after the Congress Resolution to quit India was passed. Gandhiji's arrest annoyed the people and they revolted against the British Government. Their revolt caused violence all over India. The Viceroy accused Gandhiji for this riot and violence. He held Gandhiji responsible for all this. **Convince**—firmly persuade.

Ample—enough. **Amends**—compensation. When Gandhiji was accused for the violence & riot, he wrote to the Viceroy that he (the Viceroy) should call him, discuss with him and convince him that he (Gandhiji) made a mistake in passing the Quit-India Resolution. And then Gandhiji would certainly repent for his error. **Fellow prisoners**—refers to the great nationalist leaders of India who were imprisoned with Gandhiji. **Page 47**

Violence—illegal use of force. **Condemned**—blamed, giving judgement against with firm decision. **Unequivocally**—without uncertainty or ambiguity. **Penance**—repentance. **Public penance**—repenting publicly or openly. **Soothing**—consoling. **Balm**—medicine to reduce the pain. **Resort**—turn for aid. **Prescribed**—recommended.

If I cannot get soothing balm according to capacity—Gandhiji felt great pain because Britain did not give freedom to India. He needed some medicine or balm to remove this pain. **His suffering or pain could be removed by scouring India's free-**

dom. This freedom would act like a soothing balm for him. If he would not get this balm, he would follow the law recommended for Satyagrah. If the British did not grant freedom to India, Gandhiji would fast according to his capacity.

Resents—opposes with the feeling of anger. Projected—planned, contrived. Black mail—forces, black mail was the tribute exacted from people by freebooters or decoits for protection and immunity. Black mail—force the British to release him (Gandhiji) in the political sphere.

An easy way out—an easy method to get out of the prison and clutches of the British Government. Impute—attribute, ascribe. Base—low. Motive—aim. Comprehension—understanding. And he warmly resents passes comprehension—Gandhiji wrote to the Viceroy that if India would not be given freedom, he (Gandhiji) would fast according to his capacity. At this Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy, wrote to Gandhiji that the fast that he had planned was a kind of black-mail for his release. It was like forcing the British Government for getting him free. It was like an easy method for him (Gandhiji) to secure his release. This was a very bad remark, and Gandhiji did not like it. He immediately wrote to the Viceroy that he could not understand that a friend like the Viceroy could assign such a low and cowardly motive to his fast. It was undignified, ungraceful & unjustified for the Viceroy to ascribe such low and mean and cowardly motives for Gandhiji's fast; undoubtedly Gandhiji never undertook his fast for his unconditional release.

Governing — dominating. Securingly — apparently. Prisoner—refers to Gandhiji who was then a prisoner of the British Government. Pursued—followed. Redemptive fast—fast undertaken to redeem the sins of others. Officialism—the official attitude of the British Government. Hard—unchanged. somewhat anxious—They (British Government) were anxious for Gandhiji's health when he undertook the fast. Released—set free. Unconditionally—without any term or condition. Lord Wavell—The Viceroy and Governor General of India. He succeeded Lord Linlithgow.

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Prophets—refers to gandhiji. **Linked**—joined. The man who might have— to dose—Lord Linlithgow had faith in God like Gandhiji. This faith in God was a common factor between Linlithgow and Gandhiji. It had linked Linlithgow to Gandhiji. This would have enabled him to win over Gandhiji; and secure his cooperation. If he would have win over Gandhiji, he would have got his cooperation in solving the problem of India's freedom, thus Linlithgow would have earned a permanent fame. But inspite of the common faith in God, Linlithgow had no imagination to win over Gandhiji.

Rift—gap. The soldier—refers to Lord Wavell who was commanding the British forces in North Africa during the second world war. **Kirk Elder**—refers to Lord Linlithgow who was succeeded by Wavell as the Viceroy. **Creative hand**—with originality, some powers of construction. **Sore**—wound. **Sore place that separates Britain from India**—The feeling of enmity which exists between India and Britain as Britain has been ruling over India. This feeling of bitterness and enmity had separated India and Britain. It is like a place of wound. Carl Heath expressed hope that Lord Wavell would show some spiritual power and creative genius in healing the wound of bitterness and antagonism between India and Britain.

Disarm—remove, unarm. **Tense**—deep. **Antagonism**—bitter feeling of enmity. **Struggle**—It refers to the struggle of India for her independence. **Conciliation**—bringing opponents into harmony. **Fertile**—fruitful. **Technique**—method, manner of artistic execution of some work. **Recognition**—acceptance. **Tended**—had tendency or aptness. **Reconciliation**—bringing enemies into harmony again. **Vitlates**—be a fatal flaw in, spoil the effect of, made unwholesome. **Destructive**—leading to ruin & destruction. **Association**—friendship. **Feebleness**—weakness. **Sentimentality**—view based on emotion or coloured with certain mental feeling, emotional attitude.

The first step is **sentimentality**—Carl Heath recommends conciliation with India. For this mutual harmony and agreement he suggests the acceptance of the main issues of

the quarrel. The first thing for true reconciliation according to him is to recognise the chief points of the quarrel. One must first clearly know and accept the ground for dispute. But unfortunately the modern religious world has a tendency to give a wrong idea of reconciliation to an average ordinary man. A wrong thought of reconciliation is given to an ordinary man. Their very idea of reconciliation has a fatal defect in it. It is associated with the elements of weakness and emotions. Their idea of reconciliation has a wrong method. Because it is based on sentimentality. Their method for reconciliation is based on emotion. Their very mind is coloured with certain emotional attitude before-hand. There could be no effective and successful reconciliation if one's mind is already weak and prejudiced before-hand. The search—the attempt to find out a method.

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Delude—to be fool or to deceive. **The search for conciliation**— other persons and nations—some people have a wrong idea of conciliation in public matters. According to them those persons, who try to establish mutual harmony, and remove differences and antagonism, should show sympathy for the wrong deeds of the persons and nations. Those who attempt conciliation should think that other people and nations have done wrong deeds and they sympathise with them for their wrong doing. Such people befooled and deceive themselves. Such coloured attitude and wrong method of reconciliation are not desirable.

Hence—therefore. **Tense**—strained. **Antagonistic situation**—situation full of feelings of bitterness and enmity. **In appropriate**—not suitable, not proper. **Comfort**—feel themselves happy, **Consol** themselves. **Notion**—idea. "A time will come" They want to postpone reconciliation for future, they find fault with other people and argue that the time for reconciliation has not yet come. It will come in future. **Hence** **In spite of a tense and antagonistic** a time will come—India demanded independence from England, and the British Parliament tried to postpone the issue. This created bitterness and enmity between India and England. As a result of this

a tense situation was created in India. This demanded a prompt solution to remove the bitterness and antagonism. But the British people postponed such solution. Even deeply religious people put aside any idea of solving the dead-lock and removing bitterness between India and England. They argued that such attempt of conciliation was not proper; it was impossible; they even consoled themselves that time had yet not come for conciliation with India. It is to come in future. This was really a weak and wrong idea. **Intended—desired. Sentimental attitude—view based on emotions. Conception—Idea. Integrated—united as a whole. Courageously—bravely. For no true advance in political and social in spiritual methods—**Some British people argued that the time had not come for settlement with India. It is to come. In fact they tried to postpone the issue. Carl Heath pointed out that new method was needed for direct action and settlement with India. Because no real progress can be made in emotional attitude. There can be no progress and agreement in social and political affairs if there is prejudiced emotional attitude. If nations or classes of people have biased view and emotional attitude towards each other there can be no true advance in social or political settlement of affairs. If there is entirely a new understanding of social factors, real progress in agreement can be made easily. For mutual understanding and real agreement three factors are needed:—(1) a new understanding of social order, (2) a new idea of the united social life of men and its ways and (3) willingness to make experiments bravely in spiritual methods. **Depressed class—Down-trodden low people. Longs—desires. To make up—to compensate, to fulfil the loss. Physical force—Military power. Invariably—unchangably, always the same. Negotiations—confering with a view to find terms of agreement. Exhaustion—Using of resources or strength or power completely.**

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Appalling—Dismanaging, terrifying, annoying. Fertility—bearing of fruit or result. Repression—suppression. Manifest—shown.

We need both to get rid of clearly manifest--For mutual conciliation and agreement we must get rid of two kinds of sentimental attitude. The first sentimental attitude sees the other side as the low and depressed one. It looks down upon the people of the other side. It regards them as low people and desires to make compensation for this attitude. The other sentimental attitude does not want to compensate for the loss. It argues that there is no way for mutual agreement and understanding with the other side. They think that only the use of military power can make the other side accept the terms of agreement. They have faith in their military strength. But when their military power is exhausted completely they always come forward for agreement. When their physical force is completely exhausted they negotiate to find terms of agreement. When their terrifying and annoying methods of destruction and oppression are clearly seen by others they try to confer with the other side to find out the conditions of settlement. In brief, the second sentimental attitude uses the military power to force the other side to accept its terms. When their military power to force the other side to accept its terms is exhausted their methods of destruction are clearly seen by others; then they prefer conciliation and then negotiate for settlement. **Seek—try, search. Considerable—great. Greek—Here it means sharper. Intelligence—quickness of understanding, sagacity. Good heartedness—Courage. Allusion—regard or respect for others as a principle for action. Possess—have. Prevent—stop, bar. Inevitable—unavoidable, bound to happen. Degradation—reduced to lower rank; degeneration, lowered the estimation. Ensuing—Coming. Resorted to—adopted as a method. Positive—definite. Integration—unification. Conciliation needs to be seen a new and positive integration—**Conciliation should be regarded as immediate and practical method for removing disputes. This would prevent the unavoidable degradation of the human spirit which comes in when military power is used. When the military force is adopted for compelling the other party to accept terms, there is degradation of the human spirit and ideas. **This can easily be prevented if real conciliation**

is easily and immediately adopted. It will also lead to definite and new unification.

Cooperative activity—activity based on joint efforts. **Disorder**—confusion. **Conciliation** is the immediate a social disorder—Conciliation means the immediate and practical activity based on joint efforts. Conciliation is action based on work done by many people together. It is the activity of wise intelligent and good men. It is adopted as a solution to remove confusion in society. Conciliation is the joint activity for establishing order and law in society. **Surrender**—Yielding, giving away. **Demand**—claim. **Reversal**—changing, turning the other way, revoking, annulling. **Dispute**—quarrel. **Intelligence**—understanding wisely. **Recognition**—acceptance. **Error**—Mistake. **Keeness**—eagerness. It implies no surrender of principle would call the will of God—Conciliation does not mean that one party should give up its main principles. It does not imply the yielding to the other party on the question of principle. It also does not mean that the judgement of one party about the causes of the quarrel should be changed altogether. Conciliation does not mean that one should change one's judgement about the causes of the present quarrel or disorder. Conciliation means that the principle of the parties and their judgement about the causes of their quarrel will remain the same. There would be no change in them. But conciliation does take into account human mistakes and human weakness. It asks people to consider the question sympathetically and intelligently and wisely. It asks people to accept the human weakness and mistakes. They should make allowance for human weakness and mistakes. Conciliation asks people to be eager to find out common ground for understanding, and common will which the religious people call the will of God. Conciliation implies that...

- (1) The principle of the parties should not be given up.
- (2) The judgement of the parties about the causes of their quarrel should not be changed.
- (3) The problems of the opposite party should be considered sympathetically.

(4) Human weakness and mistakes in the affair should be recognised.

(5) There should be eagerness to find out the will of God.

Cooperatively—with joint efforts.

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Divine—heavenly. Constructive—tending or leading to some definite shape or kind. Save—except. Grace—charm, attractiveness. Spiritual—concerning with the spirit, or soul or religions; not wordly-minded.

Men cannot seek cooperatively to find this divine will they call it—Conciliation asks for eagerness to find the will of God. This needs certain spiritual conditions. Men want to find out this will of God with joint efforts. They want to have new unification with some definite power. They can do so only in the spirit of freedom, equality and brotherhood. When they have got the feelings of equality, freedom and brotherhood, they can find divine will and have a new unification. They cannot get at the divine will by setting aside the feelings about God, and the good qualities of life and nature. They can find the will of God by spiritual ideas. They can get it only if they are not wordly minded, and if they have good noble thoughts about life and nature.

Ignored—avoided. Modifications—making minor changes, reducing the severity. Creative grace—New original charm and attractiveness. Where these spiritual conditions creative grace—For a new unification people should have the feelings of freedom, equality & brotherhood. They must not be wordly minded. They must have spiritual grace. These are spiritual conditions for finding out unification and reaching at some agreement. When these conditions are avoided, the decisions are nothing but minor changes in the decisions of power. When people do not observe spiritual conditions in their settlements, agreements are nothing but the decisions of power with some minor changes here and there. Such decisions have no originality, no charm and no attractiveness of definite construction. Outstanding—prominent. Heathen—Non-Christian. Europe to day is an outstanding example of Heathen

and unreconciling method—The European nations have been fighting. They have been sometimes waging war with military force, at other time they have been carrying on cold war of nerves. Such fighting Europe is a prominent example of non-christian uncompromising method. When Carl Heath wrote this line European nations were waging the second world war. They were not following the spiritual methods; they had no feelings of equality, brotherhood and freedom. They were uncompromising in their attitude. Assume—suppose. Believe in. Disaster—ruin, destruction. National antagonism—Bitterness among different nations. Enmity among nations. Virulent—Full of poison; full of hatred. This continent—refers to Europe. These European Islands—refers to Ireland, England and Scotland. N. B. Carl Heath sounds a note of warning here. The European nations must feel that each nation is free, equal and friendly. They must have the feeling of brotherhood, equality, freedom and friendliness. They must feel that they have common life and therefore they can have common agreement. If they do not have these good feelings, they will not be reconciled. And then they will have unhappiness, hatred, enmity, war and destruction. These evil things are like germs of disease and a poisonous disease. In the body of the European nations and Great Britain these germs of poisonous disease enter and ruin. In other words European nations and Great Britain will destroy themselves if they have no good feelings of equality, brotherhood, friendliness etc.

The time is not yet—The British statesmen have always been arguing that the time has not yet come for mutual agreement and settlement with India. Carl Heath points out that they have been avoiding the problem. Now is the appointed time—see carefully that the words are in Italics—Carl Heath here wants to stress that time for settlement with India and granting independence to India has already come; it is now that they should make settlement with India.

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First be reconciled—Carl Heath points out that the British and the Indians should first be reconciled; they must have

compromising attitude; Britain should not use force, but should have the good feelings of brotherhood, equality, friendliness and freedom towards India.

Transforming—(Changing. Prof. H. G. Wood—Doctor of Divinity and Professor at Birmingham. **Forgiveness—Pardon.** Reimagining people—changing views about people, thinking in different terms about people. **Indian Nationalists—**Those Indians who had been struggling hard to secure the freedom for India. **Seeking—finding.** **Primal—chief, main.** **Confess—**acknowledge or accept the guilt. **Uncreative—not constructive.** **Political Bankruptcy—**Utter loss of political ideas and schemes. **Tension situation—**Strained circumstances, in India the situation before securing the independence was very tense; there was bitterness between the Indians and the British Govt. **Promotion—**Helping forward, initiate the process of. **Free consultation—**referring and discussing each other's views freely. **Prevent—stop, bar.** **Communicating—**negotiating. **For first—**It is untrue **Promotion of free consultation—**Indian nationalists were demanding freedom for India, and the British statesmen were hesitating in granting it. Therefore no mutual understanding and settlement could be arrived at. In fact the British were finding fault with the Indian nationalists. They were suggesting that the Indian nationalists were wholly to blame and they must acknowledge their own guilt and mistakes. Carl Heath says that such attitude is untrue. It is false. Secondly it is uncreative. It does not lead to any definite constructive scheme. Thirdly it reveals the utter loss of political ideas and understanding. It shows that the British statesmen have no political plans for arriving at definite understanding with India. Such unimaginative attitude on the part of the British statesmen should be given up. No settlement can be arrived at by such attitude.

The second step in removing the tense situation in India is to begin free consultation with the Indian leaders. They should be given opportunities to discuss their views freely and fully. The British Government should also consult them freely. **Futile—Useless. Provocative—intentionally irritating and**

rousing the anger of. **Statement**—Presentation of fact or position or problem. Here it refers to the British statement that the Indian leaders first must find a unity among themselves and then demand freedom from the British. Carl Heath says that it is useless and provocative statement. In high places—refers to the high authorities in Great Britain and India.

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Determination—firm decision. **Conclusions**—decisions. **Commanding**—Exalted or impressive of his ability and high position. **Consuming**—Excessive, very great. **Concern**—interest, anxiety. **Political tension**—strained situation in the political sphere. It was so because India was not getting her freedom. **Sore**—wound. **Imperial Government**—refers to the British Government. **Peacewards**—for the sake of peace, for having peace in India. **Present war**—refers to the Second World War. **Far Eastern problem**—affairs of the far eastern countries like Malaya, Burma, China, Indonesia, Indo-China etc. **Post War future**—the period after the second world war. **Antagonism**—enmity, rivalry. **Stiff**—hard. **Intransigent**—Uncompromising in political sphere. There is the general Far Eastern problem is now sowing—During the second world war the countries of the Far East such as India, Burma, China, Indonesia, Indo-china, Japan etc. were involved in the War. Some of them were slave countries under European nations as Holland, France, England etc. These European nations were ruling over them with despotic powers. They refused to grant independence to them. They were uncompromising in their political views. This sowed the seeds of deep bitterness and enmity between these European nations and Far-Eastern nations. They maintained a hard attitude. They refused to make any settlement or negotiations with their dependent countries. Such things would create new problems after the second world war. To day we have seen that Carl Heath's fear was right. Just after the second world war the problems of Indian independence, Indonesia's independence, the liberation of Burma, Ceylon came before the world and each of these countries was granted independence. **Combination**—Unity. **Renascent**—

springing up a new, being reborn.

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Fateful—dangerous. **Our Imperialists**—refers to the British statesmen and politicians. **These Islands**—refers to the Great Britain which includes the islands of England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland. **Fury**—anger. **Destructiveness**—destruction, ruin. **Christendom**—Europe. **Orient**—East. **Emerge**—Come out. **Though their realization wait on time**—though the realization of these ideas take some time. **India will be free**—These words are put down in Italics. This shows that Carl Heath was convinced that India must be free. Independence of India could not be postponed. **Amid**—among. **Warring nations**—countries that have been fighting. **Sunk**—plunged, merged. **Strife**—quarrel, disputes. **Birth right free**—India has her birth right for her freedom. **Bearing**—carrying. **Aloft**—high. **Brimming**—full. **Bowl**—a pot, a cup. **leaven**—modify with tempering element. **Race**—humanity.

Upon a world—wide stage **leaven all the race**—The world is like a wide stage. There the various nations of the world are quarreling. They are deeply marged in disputes. Among these fighting nations India will rise up high. It will carry high the brimming pot of life. It is India's own birth right to be free. Such free India will rise up.

In brief, among the fighting nations of the world free India would rise up carrying with it new ideas and spirit of life. Through Gandhiji India would speak to the world a new message that would change the whole humanity. Gandhiji would give to the whole wider world a new message which would grace the people and enable them to rise higher.

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Devastating—ruinous. **Material violence**—illegal use of force for wordly purpose, violence caused for worldly things. **Thinking**—thoughts. **Homage**—tribute. **Apostle**—saint, phrophet. **Indian apostle**—it refers to Gandhiji. **Sought**—tried. **creation**—new things. **As it learns through hard ...** **out for all humanity**—The world has been thinking about

violence for material purposes. It has been practicing also violence. Such illegal use of force for worldly purposes leads to great suffering and terrible destruction. Violence would not only ruin people but make them suffer terribly for a long time. But a time would soon come when the people would learn through such ruin and suffering that violence is useless. It would then give it up and practice Satya and Ahimsa in daily life. It would face the problems of life and solve them on the principles of co-operation. People would lead cooperative life. They would practice Satya, Ahimsa, truth and gentleness in their life. Then they would turn to India again and pay their tribute to Gandhiji, the Indian apostle. Because Gandhiji practised the noble principles of Satya, Ahimsa, truth and gentleness in his daily life. He based his daily life on these principles. By doing so he created new original ideals not only for India but for the whole human race. Therefore the world would pay its homage to Gandhiji.

General Questions and Answers.

Q. 1. Give a brief account of the correspondence between Gandhiji and Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy of India in 1942. Was it historic?

Ans:—During the second world war Lord Linlithgow was the Viceroy of India and Mahatma Gandhiji, with the other Congress and nationalist leaders, was struggling hard to get the independence of India. But the British Government was not prepared to grant this freedom. Then the Congress at the instance of Gandhiji passed the famous August Resolution in 1942.

At this the Government arrested Gandhiji and other leaders and Congress workers of standing and eminence.

This was followed by country wide rebellion of violence.

It was then that the Viceroy Lord Linlithgow and Mahatma Gandhiji entered into a correspondence.

Both the writers were religious men and friends. Gandhiji had requested to the Viceroy that (the Viceroy) he should send for him and convince him of error and in return he would make ample amends. He was even willing to modify the famous Quit-

India Resolution of August 8th, 1942, if his colleagues and fellow prisoners agreed to this proposal. Again Mahatmaji recalled to Lord Linlithgow that he had always condemned without reserve the violence of his Congress workers and did public penance for the same more than once. All this he did as a free man with a free conscience. Lastly Mahatmaji pointed out that if his untrue charge was not proved, & his soul was left to suffer in agony, he would take a fast according to capacity. Lord Linlithgow had the prudence to reply in return to the great saint of Sabarmati that the fast would be a form of political black-mail "and an easy way out" Then Gandhiji wrote to him that a friend like him could impute such a base and cowardly motive to him was beyond his understanding. But the Viceroy remained unmoved. He was always thinking that Gandhiji should repent.

In his letters Gandhiji asked the Viceroy why he had arrested him.

This correspondence is historic because it clearly points out the motives of Gandhiji and his sincerity. It revealed that Gandhiji's case was very strong. It also shows the uncompromising attitude of British statesmen and officials like Lord Linlithgow.

Q. 2. "Yet I cannot help thinking that as he sits at home and breathes the fresh cool air of Scotland, Lord Linlithgow will perhaps wish that he could modify much that he then wrote to his prisoner friend" Explain this view-point with reference to Mahatmaji's correspondence with the Viceroy.

Ans:—Refer the summary and the first question above.

Q. 3 What is the meaning of concillation and what is its true and fertile technique according to Carl Heath?

Ans:—Before India became independent, there was a very tense antagonism and bitterness between India and Britain. Because Britain was then ruling over India. Many attempts were made to achieve this independence, but they failed. Carl Heath pointed out that the first step to remove the feeling of enmity and bitterness between India and Britain was to have understanding and conciliation. According

to Carl Heath conciliation has a definite meaning. He thinks that 'conciliation is the immediate practical cooperative activity of intelligent men of good will applied jointly to the solution of a case of a social disorder. It applies no surrender of principle nor does it demand a change of judgement on the part of any party for the causes of the quarrel or disorder. But it does call for a sympathetic intelligence for a recognition of human error and human weakness and also for eagerness of will to find what religious people call the Will of God. This will of God can only be known in an atmosphere of freedom, equality and brotherhood. Conciliation also involves certain spiritual conditions. It means one should have faith in the unity of life, which gives birth to man's rights of freedom, equality and friendliness. When all these are combined lasting peace can be secured. Conciliation prevents degradation of human spirit which repents after use of physical force. It builds constructively a new positive integration.

Carl Heath condemns the general view of reconciliation. People associate reconciliation with weakness and sentimentality. They think that reconciliation means showing sympathy for the wrong doing of other persons and nations. They think the other side as the depressed class. Carl Heath criticises this view.

Q. 4 What are Carl Heath's suggestions for reconciliation with India ?

Or

**“What the situation calls for is really a transforming act”
What sort of transforming act or acts are here involved ?**

Ans:—India was struggling hard to achieve her independence. This created a tense situation in India and feeling of bitterness and antagonism between India and Britain. To remove this Carl Heath pointed out that the need of the hour was the reconciliation with India. He suggested that this reconciliation should not be postponed. It was now or never. What the Indian situation demanded was a really transforming act. It means re-imagining people. They should first reimagine the situation by changing places mentally with Indian nationalists. The British people must believe that the freedom was the first need of the

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country. The old idea that the other side is wholly to blame and nothing can be done until they confess it should be given up because it was true, it was uncreative and it was political bankruptcy. Again transforming act means the promotion of free consultation. It was worst for the British to repeat that the Indian leaders should first find a unity when Gandhiji was prevented from consulting his colleagues and other leaders. This was a useless statement repeated again and again even in high places. British statesmen should not postpone the issue by repeating the useless and provocative statement "unity first, freedom next". The next in a transforming act, according to Carl Heath, was the calling of a meeting of all Indian leaders. They would certainly accept the invitation if they knew his determination to solve the problem then and move forward on the basis of the conclusions reached. Carl Heath sounded a note of warning that no Indian problem could be solved unless the political tension in India was left as an open sore and the British Govt. refused to make any further efforts for peace.

General Questions on the Book.

Q. 1 Why did Mr. Carl Heath write on Gandhiji ?

Q. 2 "Seventy five years ago there was born a child in India destined to embody India's soul" Explain briefly this statement. How did Gandhiji embody the soul of India ?

Q. 3 What is the importance of the prophetic and symbolic men of life ?

Or

"All through the long history of mankind the world has been kept away from ultimate tragedy and despair by prophetic and symbolic men". Explain the functions of a prophet in the light of this statement.

Q. 4 How far Gandhiji was a prophet ? Explain his main principles.

Q. 5 Gandhiji may be prophet, politician and social reformer but first and foremost and all the time he is Free India" Explain this statement.

Q. 6 "The figure of Gandhiji persists" Explain with examples this statement.

Q. 7 "The great men and women in life "are those possessed of an integrated conception of the purpose of their existence or being and who show this purpose in every stage of their becoming". Explain this with reference to Gandhiji.

Q. 8 Explain critically 'Ahimsa' and Satyagrah principles of Mahatma Gandhi.

Or

"The most characteristic doctrine brought to bear upon public affairs by M. K. Gandhi is that of non-violent resistance." Explain briefly Mahatmaji's philosophy of Satyagrah in the light of this statement.

Q. 9 Briefly describe Mahatma Gandhi's attitude in the Second Great World War, explaining briefly Carl Heath's defence of Mahatmaji's attitude.

Q. 10 Explain briefly Gandhiji's view on the Japanese aggression.

"To accuse him of playing fast and loose with the Japanese is sheer non-sense." Explain and discuss this view.

Or

Do you subscribe to the view that Mahatmaji was an enemy of Britain and a secret friend of Japan.

Q. 11 Explain Mahatmaji's view on the freedom of India.

Q. 12 Describe briefly the correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Linlithgow. How far was it historic.

Q. 13 What is the meaning of conciliation according to Carl Heath? What suggestion did he put forth for reconciliation with India?

END.



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